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1458

von Halder

N. 4595.

IOHANNES DUX MARLBUROI, S,R,I, PRINCEPS &c.

Unbounded Courage *and* Compassion *join'd,*
Tempring each other in the VICTOR'S *Mind;*
Alternately proclaim'd him Good *and* Great,
And made the HERO *and the* MAN *Compleat.*

EIGENTHUM DER STADT AUGSBURG

THE HISTORY OF JOHN Duke *of* MARLBOROUGH.

Prince of *Mindelheim*, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of Her *Britannick* Majesty and the States of the *United Provinces*, Knight of the Most Noble order of the Garter, Master of the Ordnance, *&c*,

INCLUDING

A more exact, impartial, and mathodical Narrative of the late War upon the *Danube*, the *Rhine*, and in the *Netherlands*, than as ever yet appeared.

Compiled from Authentick JOURNALS, without Regard to any Former Attempt of the same Nature.

By the AUTHOR of *the Hist. of Prince* Eugene.

The Third EDITION, Corrected.

——— *In Battle brave;*
But still serene in all the stormy War,
Like Heav'n above the Clouds; and after Fight,
As merciful and kind to vanquish'd Foes,
As a forgiving God.

DRYDEN's King *Arthur.*

LONDON:

Printed for JAMES HODGES, at the *Looking Glass* over-against *St. Magnus* Church, *London-Bridge*. M.DCC.LV.

To His Grace

THE

Duke of *Marlborough.*

My Lord Duke,

IT is impoſſible to think of a Patron to this ſhort Hiſtory, without reſolving at once who it ſhould be. Every Reader who looks in the Title of it, will immediately conclude, that a Life of the Late Duke of *Marlborough* can belong to Nobody ſo properly as to the Preſent.

You too, my Lord have taken up the Profeſſion of Arms, which adds to the Propriety of this Addreſs. It can give no Offence to the greateſt General in *Europe*, to propoſe your illuſtrious Grandfather to him for an Example; but no Man living can imitate that Example with the ſame Pleaſure, the ſame inward Satisfaction as Your Grace.

DEDICATION.

There have been. in ſome Families, a Succeſſion of great Captains, as well as great Stateſmen. Every Soldier who reveres the Memory of the Firſt Duke of *Marlborough*, will rejoice to ſee the ſame Heroic Qualities ſhine fourth in a Second.

We are now, My Lord, in all Appearance, upon the Brink of a War, that only Teſt of Military Genius, and which your Grace hath hitherto wanted. Even the Immortal *Churchill*, had he lived his Youth under the Pacific Reigns of their late and preſent moſt excellent Majeſties, could have had no more Oppertunity than Your Grace, to ſhew he was able to command Armies.

Tho' his Courage was early known, it was late before his conſummate Abilities had full Room to appear, and the greateſt Character in Hiſtory was formed towards the Decline of Life. Your Grace, yet in your Prime, has all the Advantage of his mighty Toils to ſet out with. That you may early require as much Fame as your great Anceſtor, and live long to enjoy it, is the Prayer of

My Lord,

Your Grace's Moſt

Obedient Hunble Servant

The AUTHOR.

THE HISTORY OF JOHN Duke of *Marlborough.*

BOOK I.

From his Birth to the Year when he was declared Generaliſſimo of the Allies.

His Deſcent and Birth.

JOHN CHURCHILL, Duke of *Marlborough*, and Prince of the Empire, was the ſecond Son of Sir *Winſton Churchill*, Knt. of *Wootton-Baſſet* in the County of *Wilts*, by his Wife *Elizabeth*, Daughter of Sir *John Drake*, Bart. of *Aſhe* in *Devonſhire*. The Family of the *Churchills or Courcills*, (as they were formerly called) is very ancient, and we have Memorials of it in *Normandy* before the Conqueſt, and in *Englana*

from that Period down to the Birth of our Hero, which happened at *Aſhe* aforeſaid, in the Pariſh of *Muſbury*, in *Devonſhire*, on the 24th of *June*, 1650.

Sir *Winſton Churchill*, his Father.

The *Churchills* had long been eminent for their Services to the Crown, and Mr. *Winſton*, in particular, was ſo diſtinguiſhed by his Loyalty in the worſt of Times to King *Charles* I, that he became obnoxious to *Cromwell* and the Commonwealth. It was during his Lady's Retirement from the Perſecutions of the Faction, that his Son *John*, a Perſon who has made the Name and Family illuſtrious to all Poſterity, was given to this Nation, and to *Europe*. Mr. *Churchill* had better Fortune after the Reſtoration than many other Loyal Sufferers, who were but too little regarded at the Court of King *Charles* II. For he was honoured with the Dignity of Knighthood, made one of the Commiſſioners of the Court of Claims in *Ireland*, and afterwards Clerk Comptroller to the Board of Green-Cloth in *England*. He ſerved in Parliament for the Towns of *Weymouth* in *Dorſetſhire*, and *Lyn-Regis* in *Norfolk*, and lived in Favour with both *Charles* II and *James* II. till he died a little before the Abdication of the latter. He was one of the firſt Fellows of the Royal Society, a Gentleman of Senſe and Learning, ſteady in his Principles, and unblemiſhed in his Character. We have a Folio Volume of his Writing, entitled, *Divi Britanici, being Remarks upon the Lives of all the Kings of this Iſle from A. M.* 2855, *to A. C.* 1660: A Performance to which thoſe who have read it give a good Character. Two of his Sons beſides *John*, took to the Practice of Arms; his third Son, *George*, who died an Admiral in 1710, and his fourth Son *Charles*, who died in 1714 General of Foot, Colonel of the Coldſtream Regiment of Guards, and Governor of *Guernſey*.

His Brothers.

Mrs. Arabella Churchill, *the Duke's Siſter.*

His eldeſt Daughter, Mrs. *Arabella Churchill*, was Maid of Honour to the Dutcheſs of *York*,

and

and a Favourite of the Duke's, who had by her two Sons and two Daughters. The eldeſt Son, *James Fitz-James*, has been ſince famous by the Titles of Duke of *Berwick*, and Marſhal of *France*; and the other, *Henry Fizt-James*, called *The Grand-Prior*, was Lieutenant-General, and Admiral of the *French* Gallies. One of the Daughters, *Henrietta*, was Mother of the late Earl of *Waldegrave* and the other died a Nun. Mrs. *Churchill* afterwards married Colonel *Charles Godfrey*, who in the Reign of Queen *Anne* was made Maſter of the Jewel-Office, and one of the Clerks-Comptrollers of the Green-Cloth, the Place her Father had before enjoyed. She lived to a great Age, and died but a few Years ago.

Her Iſſue by King James.

Mr. *Macky* ſays in his Memoirs, "It was the "Duke of *York's* Love for this Lady, that firſt "brought young Mr. *Churchill* to Court; and the "Beauty of his own Perſon, joined to his good "Addreſs, ſo gained on the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland* "the Miſtreſs to King *Charles*, that ſhe effectu-"ally eſtabliſhed him there." It is no new thing for the Miſtreſs of a Prince to bring her Relations into Favour, nor for a handſome Youth to win the good Graces of a Court-Lady, eſpecially a Lady of the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*'s Complexion. But the many Stories that are told concerning the Amours of our Hero, and his pretended Ingratitude to the Author of his Fortune muſt depend for their Credit on the Perſon * who relates them, and who is well known to have writ under the Direction of a Party in Oppoſition to the Duke of *Marlborough*, at a Time when no Artifices were neglected to blacken his *moral*, as well at his *martial* and *political* Character.

Said to be the Cauſe of her Brother's Riſe.

Without relying therefore on Secret Hiſtory (which at beſt is uncertain, and might be equally injurious to many other Names of the firſt Rank) I ſhall relate only the viſible Cauſes of our Hero's

Secret Hiſtory not to be relied on

* *The Author of the* New Atlantis.

Advancement, and the Steps by which he gradually roſe; which, conſidering the fine Qualities he poſſeſſed, and the accidental Advantages he manifeſtly had, were nothing ſo extraordinary for many Years, that we ſhall need to have Recourſe to any other than obvious Facts to account for them.

The Duke's Education. All Writers agree, that he had a liberal and polite Education, under the immediate Care of his Father, and the Tuition of a Clergyman of the Church of *England*; who ſo grounded him in the Doctrines and Principles of that Church, that he ever after ſacrificed to it all other Intereſts, when they came in Competition therewith; eſpecially at the ever-memorable Revolution, a Period in which he conducted himſelf with the utmoſt Delicacy, as will appear in the Sequel. With all the Acquirements of a fine Gentleman, he had a Perſon ſo agreeable, and his Prudence and modeſty were ſo conſpicuous, that it is no Wonder, through the Intereſt of his Father and his Siſter, if they eaſily recommended him to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, who made him one of his Pages of Honour, and from that Time teſtified for him ſuch an extraordinary Affection, as Inferiors of conſpicuous Merit ſometimes exact from their Superiors.

Made Page of Honour to the D. of York.

It was not long before Mr. *Churchill* diſcovered his martial Inclination; and, it is ſaid, he took an Opportunity one Day to mention it to his Royal Maſter, aud to aſk him for a Pair of Colours in the Guards. As the Duke was himſelf fond of military Exerciſes, the Requeſt of his young Favourite was far from being diſagreeable, and he made no Difficulty of complying with it.

Obtains a Pair of Colours

1672 In 1672, Mr. *Churchill* had a Captain's Commiſſion given him by the Duke of *Monmouth*, in his Grace's own Regiment, when he accompanied his Grace into *France*, and ſerved under him in the *Netherlands* againſt the *Dutch*, with whom *Lewis* XIV was then at War. It is well known that the

Goes a Captain in the Service of France.

the Policy of that Time engaged King *Charles* to send 6000 Men to the Aſſiſtance of the Grand Monarch, who was juſt upon the Point of ſwallowing up the *Dutch*, that he might the more eaſily, in their Turns, devour the reſt of the neighbouring States, and among them *England* itſelf. 1672

The King of *France*, aſſiſted by the Prince of Condé and Marſhal *de Turenne*, the two greateſt Generals of the Age commanded in Perſon this Year at the Head of near 180,000 Men. In one Campaign he almoſt over run the *United-Provinces*, with an incredible Rapidity; and his Army was undoubtedly the beſt School then in the World, for the Acquiſition of Military Knowledge. One of Mr. *Churchill's* Turn of Mind could not miſs the Improvement of ſuch an Opportunity, and we are aſſured that he ſo far diſtinguiſhed his Courage as to be taken notice of by M. *de Turenne*, who highly commended him by the Name of *The handſome Engliſhman*; a Title he peculiarly deſerved, and by which he was afterwards known in the *French* Army. This Introduction to the Favour of ſo great a Commander, made our Captain ſtill more aſſiduous to deſerve his Notice; and it may be ſaid that Marſhal *Turenne*, the moſt accompliſhed General *France* ever had, partly by his Countenance, and partly by his Example, taught Mr. *Churchill* the Rudiments of that Art, with which the Duke of *Marlborough* afterwards made *France* to tremble. *The Advantages he has in that Service.*

It was not only at the Head of his own Company, that our young Hero gave Proofs of his Bravery: He was a Voluntier in every difficult Enterprize, and ſcarce was there any Danger which his Conduct did not ſurmount. M. *Rouſſet* informs us, that "a certain *French* Lieutenant-Colonel being commanded to defend a Paſs, he was ſo diſheartned at the Approach of a Detachment of *Dutch*, that he immediately quitted his Poſt. Advice being brought of it to M. *de Turenne*, he turned to a General Officer who ſtood *An Inſtance of his Bravery.*

1673 near him; *I'll lay you*, says he, *a Supper, and a Dozen Bottles of the best* Florence, *that my handsome* Englishman *regains the Pass, with half the Number of Men that other Fellow lost it.* Captain *Churchill*, who was within Hearing, immediately accepted the Party, won the Marshal his Wager, and gained the Applause of the whole Army."

Having signalized his Gallantry in the *Low-Countries*, by this and other Exploits, he was the next Year at the Siege of *Maestricht*, where the *French* King also commanded in his own Person. Among a thousand glorious Actions that happened during this Siege, there was one in which the *English* won peculiar Honour, and Captain *Churchill* more than any *Englishman* beside. The Duke of *Monmouth*, who was Commanding Lieutenant-General of the Day, had Orders to attack a Counterscarp, for which a Detatchment of Granadiers was assigned him out of all the Regiments of the Army. But the *French* and *Swiss*, not being able to endure the Fire from the Town, began to retreat and shewed a manifest Inclination to abandon the Design. Captain *Churchill*, seeing this, instantly put himself at the Head of his own Company of Grenadiers, and marched to sustain his General. He was the first who mounted the Breach of a Half-Moon that the *Dutch* had retaken; and, having driven the Enemy, after an obstinate Resistance, from their Lodgment, he planted thereon the *French* Colours with his own Hand. *Lewis* XIV was an Eye-witness of this gallant Action; and tho' the chief Honour of it was given to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who conducted the Attack, and exposed himself to great Danger, his Majesty did not overlook the Part of Captain *Churchill*, whom he thanked in the most polite Terms, and promised to transmit, to the Court of *England*, such an Account of his Behaviour as it deserved. A Recommendation of this powerful Nature, se-

He is present at the siege of Maestricht.

His Bravery there.

Commended by the French *King.*

conded

conded by the Duke of *Monmouth*, prevents our wondering at the Riſe of this young Officer immediately after. 1673

We are aſſured that King *Charles*, upon the Return of his Troops, was ſo charmed with what had been related concerning them in this Siege, that he ordered a Repreſentation of it to be exhibited in his Park at *Windſor*; and that when he was complimenting the Duke of *Monmouth* on his own Conduct, and that of the Officers under him, the Duke generouſly told his Majeſty, that he owed his Life to Captain *Churchill's* Bravery. A Piece of Service ſo ſingular, as ſaving the Life of a darling Son, could not but have a great Effect on the Mind of that good-natured Monarch, who immediately promoted Mr. *Churchill* to be Lieutenant-Colonel of Sir *Charles Littleton*'s Regiment of Foot. At the ſame Time his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, ſenſible of the Honour done to his Recommendation, by the gallant Behaviour of his young Favourite, raiſed him to the Poſts of Maſter of his Wardrobe, and Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber.

Further promoted.

One of the firſt vacant Regiments, by the Duke's Intereſt, was given to Lieutenant-Colonel *Churchill*; who had, however, no immediate Opportunity of diſplaying his Valour again in the Field. The Peace which enſued, at the Beginning of the Year 1674, left him at full Leiſure to purſue his Intereſts at home, which he knew as well how to do in the Court, as in the Army.

Has a Regiment given him.

In 1679, King *Charles* having required the Duke of *York*, by Letter, to abſent himſelf for ſome time beyond the Seas, Colonel *Churchill* attended his Royal Highneſs in his Retreat to *Bruſſels*. and at the End of the ſame Year in his Voyage to *Scotland*, where the Duke honoured him with ſeveral important Truſts, We have no Occaſion to enter into a Detail of the State-Commotions, which hurried this Prince thus from Place to 1679

Accompanies the D. of York *in his ſeveral Retreats.*

1679 Place, they being fully set forth in the Histories of those Times: It suffices to say, that Colonel *Churchill* was all this while high in his Master's Favour, who removed him from his Regiment of Foot to the Command of a Regiment of Dragoons.

1681 In the Year 1681, our Colonel married Mrs. *Sarah Jennings*, (the present Duchess-Dowager of *Marlborough*) Daughter and Co-heiress of *Richard Jennings*, Esq; of *Sandridge* in *Hertfordshire*: An Instance that, whatever Taste he might have for Gallantry, he did not give into that high Pitch of Libertinism, which prevailed in those Days at Court.

Marries.

1682 The Duke of *York* had already been twice in *Scotland* within about two Years, when he went thither again by Sea, in 1682, accompanied by Colonel *Churchill*. It was in this Voyage that they both had a narrow Escape; the Frigate in which they sailed being run a-ground, by which Accident several Persons of Quality, and 130 Seamen, were lost. The Duke of *York* expressed his high Esteem for Colonel *Churchill* on this melancholy Occasion, by calling him into the Pinnace, in which those who escaped were saved; and some affirm, that the Colonel was not a little instrumental in preserving the Duke. This happened

In Danger of being cast away with the D. of York

1683 on the 15th of *May*, 1682: And the next Year, upon his Return from *Scotland*, he was created Lord *Churchill*, and Baron of *Aymouth* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for his eminent Fidelity to the Duke of *York*, whom in all his Misfortunes he never deserted, till that unhappy Prince deserted those Principles which could alone entitle him to the Services of an *Englishman*. About the same time our Hero was promoted to the Third Troop of Horse-Guards, and had other Marks of Royal Favour conferred on him.

Created a Peer.

His Moderation. We are well informed, that this great Man, notwithstanding the Duke's Inclination to Rigour during

during his Government in *Scotland*, and that the Favourite's Whole almoſt depended upon a Continuance of his Royal Highneſs's Beneficenſe, did yet find Means to ſoften the ſeverity of ſome Proſecutions againſt the Preſbyterian Party, which had been ſtirred up by the Epiſcopalians with the Duke's Encouragement. 1683

King *Charles* II dying on the 6th of *February*, 1684-5, was ſucceeded by his Brother *James*, Duke of *York*, who immediately began to ſhower down his Favours on the Lord *Aymouth*. He continued him in all his former Employments, created him the ſame Year a Baron of *England*, by the Title of Baron *Churchill* of *Sandridge* in the County of *Hertford*, and advanced him to the Rank of a Brigadier-General. He alſo ſent his Lordſhip Ambaſſador to *France*, to notify the Death of King *Charles*, and his own Acceſſion to the Crown. 1685

Upon his Return to *England*, Lord *Churchill* was in the Month of *July*, the ſame Year, ſent to command the King's Troops in the Weſt againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was then in Arms againſt his Sovereign, and had declared the Parliament ſitting at *Weſtminſter* a riotous Aſſembly. His Lordſhip behaved on this Occaſion as he did at all other Times, that is, with the utmoſt Courage and Conduct: For he kept the Regiment of *Dunbarton*, and other Troops under his Command; ſtrictly to their Duty, while the Lord *Feverſham*, and ſome other principal Officers of his Majeſty's Army, by indulging themſelves in their Diverſions without Thought of the Enemy, had well nigh drawn Deſtruction on the King's Forces. The Duke of *Monmouth* attacked them unexpectedly; nor could this Diſaſter have been poſſibly retrieved, if the Troops under the Lord *Churchill*, by a gallant Reſiſtance, had not given the reſt Time to form, and thereby opened the Path to that Victory at *Sedgmore*, which eſtabliſhed the King

Sent againſt the Duke of Monmouth.

upon his Throne, by putting an End to this Rebellion.

1688 In 1688, Lord *Churchill* was ſent for to the famous Labour on the 10th of *June*; but upon ſome Intimations that he had before received, he kept purpoſely out of the Way, for which Reaſon his Name is not found in the Liſt of Deponents in *Chancery*. Thus did his Lordſhip always ſtand in the higheſt Degree of Favour with his Royal Maſter, to the very Time of the Prince of *Orange*'s coming over; but he was never reproached with having the leaſt Hand even in the Errors, much leſs in the open Violences of that ſhort and unhappy Reign. As he ſerved his Maſter faithfully, ſo when he found it impoſſible to ſerve him any longer, without doing Violence to his Conſcience, he quitted his Service with the greateſt Decenſy and Reſpect. The Letter he wrote to the King upon that Occaſion, is an ample Teſtimony of his great Virtue, as well as of his good Senſe: A Copy of it here follows.

Sent for to the Queen's pretended Labour, but does not go.

SIR,

His Letter to King James.

" SINCE Men are ſeldom ſuſpected of Sincerity, when they act contrary to their Inte-
" reſts; and though my dutiful Behaviour to
" Your Majeſty, in the worſt of Times, (for
" which I acknowledge my poor Services much
" over-paid) may not be ſufficient to incline you
" to a charitable Interpretation of my Actions;
" yet I hope the great Advantage I enjoy under
" Your Majeſty, which I can never expect in any
" other Change of Government, may reaſonably
" convince your Majeſty and the World, that I
" am acted by a higher Principle, when I offer
" that Violence to my Inclination and Intereſt, as
" to deſert your Majeſty at a Time when Your
" Affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt Obedience
" from all your Subjects, much more from one
" who lies under the greateſt perſonal Obligations

" ima-

" imaginable to Your Majeſty. This, Sir, could 1688
" proceed from nothing but the inviolable Dic-
" tates of my own Conſcience, and a neceſſary
" Concern for my Religion, which no good Man
" can oppoſe, and with which, I am inſtructed,
" nothing ought to come in Competition. Hea-
" ven knows with what Partiality my dutiful O-
" pinion of Your Majeſty has hitherto repreſented
" thoſe unhappy Deſigns, which inconſiderate and
" ſelf-intereſted Men have framed againſt Your
" Majeſty's true Intereſt and the Proteſtant Religion.
" But, as I can no longer join with ſuch to give
" a Pretence, by Conqueſt, to bring them to Ef-
" fect; ſo will I always, with the Hazard of my
" Life and Fortune, (ſo much Your Majeſty's Due)
" endeavour to preſerve your Royal Perſon and
" Lawful Rights, with all the tender Concern
" and dutiful Reſpect that become

YOUR MAJESTY'S
Moſt Dutiful and Obliged
Subject and Servant
CHURCHILL.

Notwithſtanding the Reaſons here alledged, there were not wanting thoſe who threw out ſe- vere Cenſures upon Lord *Churchill*, for thus join- ing with the reſt of the Nobility in their Deſertion from King *James*. Methinks, there need not be any thing more ſaid to juſtify him in this Particular than what he has himſelf urged in his Letter, that " Nothing ought to come in Competition with " the Dictates of one's Conſcience." If it be certain that King *James*'s Aim was to involve the Nation in Popery and Slavery, and that the Deſign of inviting over the Prince of *Orange* was merely to prevent the Growth of theſe (all which is ma- nifeſt from the Hiſtory of the Revolution) Lord *Churchill* did no more than what every *Engliſhman*, who prefers the Intereſt of his Country to that of any particular Perſon, ought to have done.

His Vindication.

And

1688 And that he did not purſue this Meaſure without mature Conſideration, is manifeſt from what we are told: That he had great Conflicts within himſelf, between his Duty to his Majeſty and Affection to his Country, and adviſed with ſeveral eminent Divines, particularly Dr *Turner*, then Biſhop of *Ely*, who told him; "That it was Rebellion "againſt God, to ſide with thoſe who attempted "to deſtroy our Civil and Religious Rights; and "that not to take Part with ſuch as came to the "Help of the Lord, againſt the Mighty, was "to be ſubjected to the Curſe pronounced againſt "*Meroz*."

He joins the Prince of Orange. When the Prince was landed, Lord *Churchill*, who with many more had ſet his Hand to invite his Highneſs over, joined him at *Sherbourn*, having left behind him the dutiful Letter above recited. It is foreign to our purpoſe to relate what paſſed at the Revolution, any farther than to ſay, that Lord *Churchill* was the Inſtrument of bringing over the Army to the Prince of *Orange*, and that *England* owed entirely to his Conduct, the making that great Turn of Affairs without ſhedding of Blood.

Is made a Lieutenant General. The Prince of *Orange*, who was an excellent Judge of Merit, continued his Lordſhip a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and immediately promoted him to the Rank of a Lieutenant-General, and ſhewed him every other Mark of Countenance and Favour. He alſo ſent him to gather together the Guards, that had been diſperſed upon diſbanding the King's Army, when his Lordſhip ſhewed as much Addreſs in bringing over the Soldiers to one Prince, as he had done in making them deſert another. He was thought likewiſe the fitteſt Perſon to ſend to the King at *Whitehall*. and advice him to withdraw to *Ham-Houſe*, or ſome other proper Place, till Matters were fully ſettled, and the People ſatisfied.

In

In *April*, 1689, their Majeſties King *William* and *Queen Mary* were pleaſed to raiſe the Lord *Churchill* to the degree of an Earl, by the Stile and Title of Earl of *Marlborough*, in the County of *Wilts*; and the ſame Year he commanded the *Engliſh* Forces in *Flanders*, and was with Prince *Waldeck* at the Action at *Walcourt*, againſt the Marſhal *d' Humieres*. 1689 *Is made an Earl.*

It was the Conduct of our Hero, and the Bravery of the Troops he commanded, that ſaved here the whole Army of the Confederates, and brought over the Advantage to their Side: Upon which the Prince of *Waldeck* paid him the Compliment to tell King *William*, "That Lord *Marl-*
" *borough* ſaw into the Art of a General more in
" one Day, than others did in many Years." *His Lordſhip's Services at* Walcoat.

As long as King *James* remained in Perſon in *Ireland*, the Earl of *Marlborough* declined appearing in the Field; but as ſoon as that Prince returned to *France*, his Lordſhip readily accepted the Command of a Body of Troops, which were ſent to reduce *Cork* and *Kingſale*. The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who commanded the *Daniſh* Auxiliaries, refuſed at firſt to obey his Orders; but the Earl, who knew how to conquer himſelf, as well as others, by propoſing the Expedient of commanding alternately, got over that Difficulty, and accompliſhed, with ſurpriſing Rapidity, the Deſign on which he was ſent over. The Word was one Day *Wirtemberg*, and the other Day *Marlborough*, which prevented any Delay of the neceſſary Projects. He embarked in *September*, and returned with Victory before the End of *October*; having ſubdued two Cities, well fortified and provided with Garriſons, little inferior in Number to the Army with which he beſieged them: On the Receipt of which News, King *William* was pleaſed to ſay, "That no other General in *Europe*, who
" had made ſo few Campaigns as the Earl of
" *Marlborough*, 1690 *Reduces Cork and Kingſale.*

1690 " *Marlborough*, could have accompliſhed ſo much " in a Quarter of one."

Limerick, *Cork*, and *Kingſale*, were the chief Places that held out in *Ireland* to the End of the preceding Campain. *Limerick* had given King *William* a great deal of Trouble, and was ſtill in the Hands of the Enemy; as the other two muſt have been all the Winter, but for the Earl of *Marlborough*, who formed the Project which himſelf executed. An Expedition ſo fortunate, and that drew ſuch a Compliment from his Sovereign, deſerves to be particularly deſcribed: I ſhall therefore inſert the printed Account of the two Seiges, as it was publiſhed by Authority at that Time.

The Seige of Cork. The Forces commanded by the Earl of *Marlborough* being landed about five Miles from *Cork*, about 1000 Men were ſent to ſeize upon ſome advantageous Poſts in the Neighbourhood of the Place; upon whoſe Approach the Enemy ſet fire to the Suburbs. *Cork* is a neat, wealthy, and populous City, inhabited much by *Engliſh*. It has a commodious Haven on the River *Leo*, which both ſurrounds and runs thro' it; is of good ſtrength, and encloſed with Walls in the Form of an Egg. On the 25th of *September*, the Earl went himſelf to view the Town, and finding the *Cat-Fort* abandoned, he poſted ſome of his Men there. The ſame Day all the Army approached within Muſket-ſhot, and on the next the Guards advanced to the ruins of the Suburbs, and raiſed two Batteries againſt the Old Fort. A Breach was made on the 27th, in the Rampart on the Eaſt Side, and in the Evening the Beſieged beat a Parley, and ſent an Officer to capitulate, after Hoſtages were given on both Sides. As the Conditions were not accepted, Brigadier *Churchill* was ſent the next Day with four Regiments, to croſs over into an Iſland, near the Ramparts in which the Breach was made. The Men threw themſelves into the Water, tho' it was above three Foot deep; and being

being preceded by Lord *Colchester*, at the Head of the Grenadiers, croſſed the Iſland, notwithſtanding the Enemies terrible Fire, and got Poſſeſſion of a Houſe with twenty Paces of the Rampart. In this Action the Duke of *Grafton*, who went a Voluntier, was mortally wounded, 1690

The Garriſon ſurrender.

All Things being ready for a general Aſſault, the *Iriſh* beat another Parley, and Colonel *Machilicut*, the Governor, ſent the Earl of *Tyrone* and Colonel *Rycaut* to agree upon Terms of Capitulation. The Conditions granted were. "That the Gar-
" riſon, conſiſting of 4000 Men, ſhould remain
" Priſoners of War; That the Old Fort ſhould
" be delivered up within an Hour, and two gates
" of the City the next Day; That all the Pro-
" teſtant Priſoners ſhould be inſtantly releaſed;
" That all the Arms, as well of the Inhabitants
" as the Soldiers, ſhould be ſecured; and that
" an exact Account ſhould be delivered up of the
" Ammunition and Proviſions in the Magazines."
Theſe Conditions were exactly performed, and an *Engliſh* Garriſon put in the Place.

The Seige of Kingſale.

From *Cork* the Earl of *Marlborough* marched for *Kingſale*, before which he arrived on the 2d of *October*, with his whole Army. This Town is ſeated upon a River; near the Sea, and divided into three Parts, the City, the Old Fort, and the New. It is eſteemed the Key of *Ireland*, at leaſt on the Southern Coaſt. Preſently a Party was ſent to view the Place, whom the *Iriſh* no ſooner perceived. but they all retired out of the City into the two Forts. The *Engliſh* immediately entered the abandoned Town, and found there a Number of Boats to croſs the River, which ſaved them going two Miles about. On the 3d, by Break of Day, they made an attack on the Weather-ſide of the Old Fort, which drawing thither all the Strength of the Enemy, they ſcaled the other Part, where they was leaſt expected. By this Means they made themſelves Maſter of

1690 all the little Baſtions; and at the ſame Time ſeveral Barrels of Powder blowing up, about fifty of the *Iriſh* were deſtroyed, beſides many more wounded.

The Old Fort taken. The reſt then retired into an Old Caſtle, in the Middle of the Fort, and there ſurrendered themſelves Priſoners of War, having loſt 200 Men out of 450.

The New Fort, which was much the ſtrongeſt of the two, was then ſummoned by Lord *Marlborough's* Order. But Sir *Edward Scot*, the Governor, haughtily anſwered, "It would be Time "enough to talk of that a Month after he had "opened his Trenches." However, when the Artillery came up from *Cork*, in leſs than Half the Time he was conſtrained to alter his Language,

And the New. and beat a Parley. On the 15th Hoſtages were exchanged, and at Midnight Articles ſigned, by which the middle Baſtion was to be delivered up the next Morning, and the Garriſon, conſiſting of 1100 Men, to march out the Day after, with Arms and Baggage, and be conducted to *Limerick*. The Earl found here a conſiderable Magazine, and Plenty of Proviſions. He would have made this Garriſon Priſoners of War, as he did the other, but thought it would be of more Service to let them conſume the Proviſions at *Limerick*, where was already a Scarcity, then to be burthened with Fellows whom no-body would redeem. *Kingſale* was found to be a Place of more Strength than his Lordſhip had before conceived, which made the Taking it at that Seaſon the more glorious; and the Effects of theſe Conqueſts were ſoon viſible in the Reduction of the reſt of *Ireland*.

The Earl ſent again to Ireland. After his Lordſhip had been at *London*, and made a Report of the Succeſs of his Expedition, he was remanded back to *Ireland*, where during the whole Winter, he prevented the Excurſions of the *Iriſh* Rebels, and raiſed ſeveral Forts to put a Stop to their Fury.

The

The Earl of *Marlborough* attended King *William* all the following Summer in *Flanders*; at the Beginning whereof, when his Majesty was returned to the *Hague*, he had Intelligence that the Most Christian King had some Design upon *Mons*, which he soon after besieged in Person. King *William* thereupon gave Orders to the Earl of *Marlborough*, to assemble the whole Army in order to relieve it; which he executed with such Diligence, that if the States General had listened to the Advice his Majesty and the Earl gave them, the *French*, in all probability, would not only have been obliged to raise the Siege, but would also have thought themselves happy if they escaped an entire Defeat from the Confederate Army. This was also the Sentiment of the late Prince of *Vaudemont*, who being sometime afterwards at *Loo*, and speaking, at his Request, to the King, of the Characters of his Generals, delivered himself thus: "*Kirk* has Fire, *Lanier* Judgment, *Mackay* Experience, *Colchester* Courage; but there is something in the Earl of *Marlborough* which I cannot express: There seems united in him all those Qualities which distinguish the others; and I have lost all my Skill in Physiognomy, which never yet deceived me, if any Subject your Majesty has, will ever attain to so high a Pitch of Military Glory, as the Combination of sublime Perfections in that Nobleman will sometime or other exalt him to." The King smiled in Approbation of what the Prince had said; and in answer, told him, "That all his Characters were very just, and that he made no question but the Earl of *Marlborough* would do his Part, to answer his Highness's Prediction." 1691

The Campaign of 1691. *P. de Vaudemont's Character of the Earl. King William's Answer.*

But, whatever Opinion the King might entertain of this noble Lord's Abilities, he stood no less exposed than other Courtiers to the Vicissitudes which attend the Service of a Prince. What the Causes were of his Lordships falling into Dis- 1692

His Lordship falls into Disgrace.

grace,

1692 grace, have rather been gueſſed at than known. It was for the Honour of the King, who removed him from his Employments, that the Earl of *Marlborough* ſhould be charged with Something; and therefore a Project of ſeizing on *Dunkirk* miſcarrying about that Time, this Misfortune was obliquely imputed to his Lordſhip. But it is by far more probable, that the Earl's Freedom of Speech loſt him the good Graces of King *William*.

Conjectures on that Head.

" For, as M. *Rouſſet* expreſſes himſelf, it was the " only Failing, if it might be called a Failing, in " that noble Lord, that he could not conceal his " Sentiments, when he thought any Thing was " doing which might prove prejudicial, or even " diſhonourable to his Country," He therefore remonſtrated againſt the mighty Confidence which King *William* placed in Foreigners, and intimated, that a King of *England* ought to employ, in the moſt important Affairs, his own Subjects. *For my own Part*, ſaid the Earl, *tho' I have no Reaſon to complain; yet many of your Majeſty's good Subjects are ſorry to ſee your Royal Munificence confined to one or two foreign Lords.* The Lords here aimed at, were ſuppoſed to be the Earls of *Portland* and *Rochford*, both *Dutchmen*, and high in his Majeſty's Favour. That Monarch, being naturally ſplenitick, took this dutiful Remonſtrance as a Cenſure, turned from him without ſaying a Word, and ſent him a Meſſage, importing, that he had no further Occaſion for his Service, but that he gave him leave to retire from Court; Which the Earl did, after wiſhing to be ſucceeded by a better Servant, and one that was more concerned for his Majeſty's Honour.

Thus the Love of his Country, as it engaged him, when Lord *Churchill*, to quit the Service of King *James*; ſo, when Earl of *Marlborough*, it obliged him to act in ſuch a Manner as drove him from the Court of King *William*. I ſhall not mention the many other Conjectures on this Head, eſpecially

especially the very improbable one of Bishop *Burnet*; because the Uncertainty with which they are made, proves what Mr. *Mackey* says; that the Difference which occasioned this Change, is still a Secret to the Generality of the World. 1692

His Lordship continued for several Years out of all Employment, tho' warm Representations were made in his Favour, particularly by his Friend Admiral *Russel*, afterwards Earl of *Orford* But so far was he at present from being restored to his Majesty's good Graces, that not long after his Dismission he was put into the Tower, with some other Peers, upon a false Accusation of High Treason; which was proved to be a Conspiracy of some abandoned Wretches, who thought that Perjury would be acceptable against a discarded Nobleman. Their Villany however retorted upon themselves; for upon a full couviction of it, they were whipped and pilloried. His Lordship was afterwards, in 1696, accused by Sir *John Fenwick* of being in King *James*'s Interest; a Calumny that, like the other, did but blacken the Inventor, and forward that uncommon Severity with which Sir *John* was prosecuted. *Is sent to the* Tower 1696

It was one of Lord *Marlborough's* peculiar Glories, that as he was ever moderate in Power, so was he always quiet in Disgrace. Tho' he had Interest and Abilities to support himself at the Head of a Party, yet he did not so much as appear in any, when he knew that his calm Retirement would be more acceptable to his Prince. Merit is seldom apt to thrust itself forwards, but, content with being known, waits to be called into Action, when those who usurp its Place on less difficult Occasions, are found unequal to some great or delicate Task. Such was the Case when the Duke of *Glocester*, the presumptive Heir of the Crown, was on the Point of being taken out of the Hands of the Women, and put under the Care of some experienced Nobleman, who might instruct him 1698

in

1698 in all that became a Prince of his high Birth to know. The Court were in general ſurprized, when, tho' many Perſons of the higheſt Diſtinction were Candidates for that Office, after ſome Deliberation his Majeſty raiſed the Earl of *Marlborough* to the important Charge; and they were the more amazed when they heard the King, at the Inſtant the young Duke was put into the Earl's Hands, ſay to him, *My Lord, teach him but to know what you are, and my Nephew cannot want Accompliſhments.* Biſhop *Burnet* was at the ſame time nominated his Highneſs's Preceptor; tho' not with ſuch general Approbation as Lord *Marlborough* was received: For the Houſe of Commons debated whether he was a fit Perſon for ſo important a Charge, and his Friends carried it in his Favour only on this Condition, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Dorſet*, ſhould ſuperintend his Conduct. The ſame Evening that Lord *Marlborough* was appointed the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Governor, he was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy Council, and took his Place accordingly.

Made Governor of the Duke of Glouceſter.

1700 The Earl diſcharged the Truſt repoſed in him with the utmoſt Integrity and Care: But Divine Providence, about two Years after, took from the *Engliſh* Nation that hopeful young Prince, who had already begun to give convincing Tokens of his Improvement under ſo excellent a Tutor.

The Duke of Glouceſter *dies.*

King *William* did not long ſurvive his Nephew. In his laſt Years, however, he had given inconteſtable Marks of his Eſteem for the Earl of *Marlborough*. Three Times ſucceſſively he had conſtituted him one of the Lord's Juſtices, during his Abſence beyond the Seas, and at the Cloſe of his Reign, appointed him Embaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the *States General*, as well as General of Foot, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces in *Holland*. It is alſo

And King William. *Earl of* Marlborough *made Plenipotentiary to the States, and Commander in Chief of the* Engliſh *Forces abroad.*

alſo ſaid that the laſt Time his Majeſty was in *Holland* (when the Earl was with him, and reviewed the Troops under his Command) he adviſed the *States General* to treat this Nobleman with the utmoſt Deference, as he would be the principal Favourite of the Princeſs his Succeſſor. For the ſame Reaſon his Majeſty communicated to him the Projects he had formed, for reducing the exorbitant Power of *Lewis* XIV. And thus from the Confidence of King *William*, on his Death-bed, the Earl of *Marlborough* paſſed on to the higheſt Degree of Favour with the ſucceeding Queen, to whom the dying Monarch recommended him, *as the fitteſt Perſon in all her Dominions to conduct her Armies, or preſide in her Councils; as being a Man of a cool Head, and a warm Heart.* 1700 1701 1702

Her Majeſty Queen *Anne* was hardly ſeated on the Throne, before ſhe ſent this noble Lord, with the ſame high Character he had borne the Year before from the late King, to the *Hague*, where his Lordſhip made the following Harangue in the Aſſembly of the States General.

Goes a ſecond Time Embaſſador Extraordinary to the States.

High and mighty Lords,

His Harangue.

" AS it has pleaſed Almighty God, in his " Providence, to take to himſelf his late " Majeſty King *William*, of Glorious Memory, " to the great Loſs, not only of his own Kingdoms, and the Dominions of your High Mightineſſes, but alſo of all *Europe*; the Queen my " Miſtreſs, who by the ſame divine Favour, hath " ſucceeded him in the Throne of her Anceſtors, " as your High Mightineſſes hath been already " informed by her Letter, hath at the ſame Time " laid her Commands on me to teſtify to your " High Mightineſſes, the great Affliction her Majeſty is in on that Account, and to acquaint you " how ſenſible ſhe is of the Loſs which will be " thereby particularly ſuſtained by your High " Mightineſſes,

" Her

1702 " Her Majeſty's firſt Care, on her Acceſſion
" to the Throne, was to give your High Mighti-
" neſſes to underſtand the ſincere Deſire and ſtrong
" Inclination ſhe has to cultivate the ſame Union
" the ſame cordial Amity, and ſtrict Correſpon-
" dence which ſubſiſted throughout the laſt Reign;
" perſuaded, as ſhe is, that there is nothing in
" the World more uſeful, more advantageous, or
" more conducive to the Proſperity of both Nations
" whoſe Intereſts are the ſame.

" Her Majeſty therefore hath commanded me
" to aſſure your High Mightineſſes, that ſhe is re-
" ſolved to contribute conſtantly, and to the ut-
" moſt Extent of her Power, to the Advancement
" and Augmentation of that Union, that Friend-
" ſhip, and that Correſpondence, and to make it
" the inviolable Rule of her Government.

" Her Majeſty hath further commanded me to
" aſſure your High Mightineſſes, that ſhe will not
" only obſerve, and is ready to execute the Trea-
" ties of Alliance made by the Kings, her Pre-
" deceſſors, with your High Mightineſſes, but ſhe
" likewiſe offers to renew and to confirm them,
" as alſo to concur with you in all the Meaſures
" taken by the late King of glorious Memory,
" in Conformity to the ſaid Treaties.

" Her Majeſty is likewiſe diſpoſed to enter into
" all other Alliances and Engagements which ſhall
" be thought neceſſary for the Intereſt of the two
" Nations, the Preſervation of the Liberties of
" *Europe*, and the reducing the exceſſive Power of
" *France* within its juſt Bounds.

" With this View her Majeſty engages inſtantly
" and without Delay, to join your High Migh-
" tineſſes with all her Force, by Sea and Land,
" againſt whoever ſhall oppoſe ſo juſt an Enter-
" prize.

" And her ſaid Majeſty, as a farther Teſtimony
" of her Zeal, has authorized me to take, in

" Concert

" Concert with your High Mightineſſes, the Mea- 1713
" ſures neceſſary to enter upon Action.

" Theſe are the Motives that have engaged her
" Majeſty to command me to make ſuch Haſte
" hither, and to give your High Mightineſſes all
" poſſible Aſſurances of what, on her Part, I
" have now declared, without waiting the ordinary
" Forms. And I eſteem it the higheſt Point of
" good Fortune, that her Majeſty has done me the
" Honour to entruſt me with this Commiſſion;
" becauſe it has furniſhed me with ſo favourable
" an Occaſion of manifeſting to your High Migh-
" tineſſes the Zeal which I have for your Service."

M. *Dyckveldt*, who preſided that Day in the Aſſembly of the States, anſwered his Excel- lency in ſuch a Manner, as convinced him that their High Mightineſſes were reſolved to enter into all the Meaſures of her *Britannick* Majeſty, and that the Preſence of no Miniſter could be ſo agreeable to them as that of his Lordſhip, at ſo delicate a Conjecture. All the Artifices of *France*, that were made uſe of on this Occaſion, to draw off the States from their Engagements with *England*, did but cement the Alliance more ſtrongly; which Steadfaſtneſs, by *French* Writers themſelves, is attributed to Lord *Marlborough*'s Diligence and Wiſdom, who in the Conferences he had with the Deputies of the States, conducted Affairs with ſuch Addreſs, that tho' he ſtaid in *Holland* but a few Days, the Number of Troops which each of the Maritime Powers were to furniſh, and the Quotas of the other Princes who were entered into the Grand Alliance, were ſettled: So that his Lordſhip returned with an exact Adjuſtment of every Thing relating to the Armament by Sea and Land, before it was known in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom that he had entered on his Negotiation. A Tranſaction which was almoſt an infallible Preſage of the Succeſs which

The Preſident's Anſwer.

The Quotas ſettled.

was

1702 was to follow; ſince Meaſures ſo prudently concerted, could not fail of being as well put in Execution, by him who had been their principal Author: And an Alliance ſo well cemented, and ſo ſtrictly united by the Bonds of Friendſhip and Intereſt, gave the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of its effecting thoſe Ends for which it was concluded.

The Earl of Marlborough *made General of the Confederate Armies.*

Amongſt the many important Affairs which were now upon the Carpet, the Earl of *Marlborough* kept his Attention fixed on ſettling the Command of the Army; that when the ſeveral Bodies of which it was compoſed, were aſſembled, it might be put under the Direction of one Commander in Chief. This honourable Poſt his Lordſhip obtained for himſelf, with a Salary of 10,000*l per Annum*; it being yielded to him as well out of the Reſpect due to his Miſtreſs, as from the great Opinion conceived of his Experience in the Art of War; and to which the Recommendation of the late King contributed not a little, by giving the foreign Powers a juſt Idea of his Abilities. And as he was perſuaded, that a Miſunderſtanding among the Generals might produce very miſchievous Effects, he endeavoured to prevent this Evil before he left *Holland*; taking all imaginable Pains to fix the Point of Pre-eminence, which equally concerned his Miſtreſs's Honour and his own. There were only the Prince of *Naſſau Saarbruck*, and the Earl of *Athlone*, who had been employed as Generals in the War under King *William*, and who could diſpute with him the Command: But their High Mightineſſes having convinced them, that there was a Neceſſity of having a Commander in Chief, they readily agreed to receive Orders from the *Engliſh* General.

Again in England.

His Lordſhip then returned into *England*, aſſiſted at the Funeral of the late King, and was one of the Committee appointed to inſpect his Papers, upon a falſe Inſinuation that his Majeſty had intented to exclude his Siſter-in-Law from the Succeſſion:

ceſſion: And upon the 23d of *April*, the Earl and Counteſs of *Marlborough* walked in the Proceſſion, according to their Rank, at the Queen's Coronation. Her Majeſty then made ſome Alteration among her Servants; advanced Lord *Godolphin* to the Head of the Treaſury, and made the Earl of *Nottingham* and Sir *Charles Hedges* Secretaries of State. As there had been a Coldneſs between her and the late King, which continued till his laſt Illneſs, it was imagined there would have been a thorough Change in the Miniſtry; and it was owing to the Moderation of the Earl of *Marlborough*, whoſe Council now prevailed in almoſt every Thing, that the greateſt Part of King *William*'s faithful Servants were continued in Office. It was alſo owing to him, in Conjunction with the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, that War was declared againſt *France* on the 4th of *May*, when the Majority of the Council had been for delaying it longer: But ſo were Things ordered by the Vigilance of thoſe in Power, that the Emperor and the States-General publiſhed their Declarations the ſame Day as the Queen of *Great Britain*, tho' the *French* King did not publiſh his till the 3d of *July*. 1702

War declared againſt France.

We muſt now leave the Earl of *Marlborough*, and the military Preparations, to ſurvey the Motives of the following War, in which the Genius of our Hero ſhone forth with ſuch aſtoniſhing Luſtre. I have writ ſomething on this Subject in the Hiſtory of Prince *Eugene*; but what follows is more particular.

Origin of the War.

When Lewis XIV concluded the Peace of *Ryſwick*, in the Year 1697, it was only to retrieve the Loſſes he had ſuſtained in the preceding War, and to be ready for another of more Importance. *Charles* II. King of *Spain*, was in ſo declining a Condition, that the News of his Death was every Day expected. As he had no Child, *Lewis* laid Claim to the Succeſſion for the *Dauphin*, his Son

1702 by *Thereſa* the Siſter of *Charles*. The Emperor, as Head of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, had alſo his Pretenſions; and the Elector of *Bavaria* had an inconteſtable Right for the Prince Electoral his Son, whom he had by the Archdutcheſs *Mary Antonietta*, Daughter of *Margaret Thereſa* of *Auſtria*, younger Siſter of the *Dauphin*'s Mother, and who married the Emperor *Leopold* in 1666. It was not the Intereſt of either *England* or *Holland*, that the entire Succeſſion to the King of *Spain*'s Dominion ſhould fall to either of theſe three Princes; ſince nothing but maintaining a Ballance of Power between the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*, could ſecure the Liberties of *Europe*. For this Reaſon they concerted a Project of dividing the Eſtates of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy among theſe Competitors; or at leaſt they came into the Project of ſuch a Diviſion, upon its being propoſed to them by Count *Tallard*, the *French* Embaſſador to King *William*, and who accompanied him to *Holland* in 1698. The Elector of *Bavaria*, who, as Governor of the *Netherlands*, reſided uſually at *Bruſſels*, came alſo *incognito* to the King's Seat at *Loo*, where the Treaty of Partition was ſoon concluded. It gave the Emperor only the Dutchy of *Milan*, and that upon Condition that he and his Sons ſhould for ever renounce the Reſt of the Succeſſion The *Dauphin* had *Naples* and *Sicily*, with all their Dependencies; and the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Dominions were to devolve to the Prince of *Bavaria*, whoſe Father was to have the Regency of them during his Son's Minority.

The Treaty of Partition.

Diſliked by the Emperor.

This Treaty thus concluded and ratified, was communicated to the Emperor, who, far from being ſatisfied with the contents of it, alledged, that as the Dutchy of *Milan* was a Fief of the Empire, it ought naturally to revert to him after the King of *Spain*'s Death, and therefore the Partition gave him nothing that was not already his Right. But the 9th Article, by which *France*,

England

England, and *Holland*, engaged mutually to em- 1702
p'oy all their Forces againſt whoever ſhou'd oppoſe the Execution of this Treaty, was what chiefly provoked his Imperial Majeſty. It is ſtill a Queſtion if *Lewis* XIV ever acted ſincerely in this Affair; and indeed there is a great Probability that the Whole was but a Feint to amuſe the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*. By making a Propoſal that would of Courſe engage the other Powers to diſarm, he thought himſelf certain of his own Project: For he kept up the ſame Number of Troops after the Peace as before, and under the Pretext of inſtructing the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Art of War, held them in Breath by frequent Encampments. Mean while the *Engliſh* Forces were reduced to 7000 Men, and theſe were thought by many too great a Number.

Diſconcerted by the Death of the Prince of Bavaria.

An unforeſeen Event ſoon overthrew this new Syſtem. The King of *Spain* revived, and the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, his chief Heir, died at *Munich*. No ſooner did *Lewis* XIV hear this but he reſolved to try his utmoſt to ſecure the whole *Spaniſh* Succeſſion for one of his Grandſons. The Enterprize was difficult: The authentick Renunciation of the late Queen his Spouſe, who was given him only on Condition that none of her Children ſhould ſucceed to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, was entirely againſt him on the one Hand; and on the other, he dreaded the Reſentment of *England* and *Holland*, and the Intrigues of the Court of *Vienna*.

A ſecond Treaty of Partition.

To remedy all this, he enters on a new Treaty, to Appearance very much in Favour of the Arch-Duke *Charles*, the Emperor's ſecond Son; and at the ſame time ſpares no Coſt nor Labour to gain over the Court of *Madrid* in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, his own Grandſon. What may not a Prince do, who is at the ſame time liberal and rich? A three Years Peace had reſtored the Finances of *Lewis* XIV, who made ſo

1702 good Use of his Money among the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, as a little to diſconcert the Imperial Intrigues.

Lewis brings over moſt of the Spaniſh *Miniſtry.*

The King of *Spain*, as is natural to ſuppoſe, had more Inclination for his own Houſe than for that of *Bourbon*, but had not Reſolution enough to reſiſt the Importunity of his Miniſters, who, enlightened by *French* Gold, now ſaw the great Inconveniences of diſmembring the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. One Article, however, *Charles* could not get over, and that was his Siſter's Renunciation. He dreaded the Torments of Purgatory, if he ſhould connive at ſuch a Piece of Perjury in the *French* Court. The Holy Father was to determine this Caſe of Conſcience, and Pope *Innocent* XII, on being conſulted, named a Congregation to examine the Affair, and pronounce a definitive Sentence. Theology and Avarice are not ſo incompatible, as never to be found in the ſame Men.

The Court of Rome *decides in his favour.*

Lewis knew it well, and poured down ſuch a Shower of Gold upon the Sacred Congregation, as quite cleared up the Underſtandings of the Doctors, and made them decide for the Nullity of the Renunciation. They even declared that his Holineſs was obliged, in Conſcience, to uſe his paternal Exhortations with the King of *Spain*, to incline him to make a Will in Favour of a Son of *France*; and the Pope had too much Regard for the eldeſt Son of the Church, not to beſtow on him this Mark of Affection.

He is oppoſed by Cardinal Portocarrero,

The Papal Nuncio ſolicits the King of *Spain*, and muſt undoubtedly have ſucceeded, if Cardinal *Portocarrero*, who continued as yet in the Imperial Intereſt, had not parried off the Blow. *Lewis*, who knew what Influence this Prelate had on the Mind of his Maſter, ſpared no Expence to gain him over. *Portocarrero* was ſo firm to the Queen, and ſhe to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that the Taſk was found difficult. However, All-potent Money at laſt prevailed, by convincing firſt the Cardinal's Confeſſor, and afterwards the Cardinal him-

himſelf, who yielded to the Reaſons of his Spiri- 1702
tual Guide. From this Time he caballed on the
Side of *France*; and the poor King, entire under- *Whom at*
der the Direction of his Eminence, ſigned a Will *laſt he*
in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, ſecond Son of *brings over*
the *Dauphins*. The Emperor and his Council ſaw
all this, but ſtill continue irreſolute: They raiſed
Troops, and quartered them on the Spot, while
Lewis marched a Part of his to the Frontiers of
Spain, to be ready to enter at the firſt Signal.
The Marquis *de Villars*, his Ambaſſador at *Vi-*
enna, informed him of all that paſſed there, and
Lewis took his Meaſures accordingly.

On the 1ſt of *November*, 1700, died *Charles* II. *King of*
King of *Spain*. Immediately the Council of Re- Spain *dies*
gency, in which Cardinal *Portocarrero* preſided,
diſpatched a Letter to the moſt Chriſtian King,
reciting the Contents of the Will, and conjuring
his Majeſty to ſatisfy the Wiſhes of ſo many Na-
tions, who longed to have his Grandſon for their
Sovereign. How great ſoever was *Lewis*'s Joy on
this Occaſion, he appeared exceedingly grieved
for the Death of his Brother-in-Law, and with a Lewis *diſ-*
grave Countenance told the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, *ſembles.*
that he bore a great Part in the publick Loſs
which all *Europe* had ſuſtained; that for the reſt,
as he never doubted the Equity of his late Majeſty,
he would endeavour to comply with the Requeſt
of his mourning Subjects; but muſt firſt take ſuch
Precautions as were abſolutely neceſſary in ſo de-
licate a Conjuncture. This Monarch even diſ-
ſembled ſo far, as to ſummon a Council, to en-
quire whether or no he ſhould accept the Will:
But as all this was concerted, we may imagine the
Voices were not much divided.

It was ſome Time before the Emperor knew of *Conceals*
Charles's Death, and that his Will had been ac- *the New*
cepted by the *French* Court. Count *Zinzendorf*, *from the*
the imperial Envoy Extraordinary at *Paris*, could *Imperial*
not poſſibly ſend a Courrier to *Vienna*, becauſe *Court.*

1702 *Lewis* had iſſued an Order to the Poſt-Maſters, that no Perſon whatſoever ſhould be furniſhed with Horſes. But at laſt, when the final Reſolutions were taken, *Sinzendorf* had leave to diſpatch an Expreſs, to inform his Maſter of all that had paſſed; who immediately called a Council on the Occaſion, in which vigorous Meaſures were reſolved on.

The Maritime Powers reſent his accepting the Will.

The greateſt Difficulty *Lewis* had, was to make the Maritime Powers reliſh this Proceeding. For this Purpoſe he ſent Count *Tallard* to King *William*, and the Counts *Briord* and *d' Avaux* to the States-General. But all the Subtilties of the *French* Miniſters could not prevent the Indignation of theſe Powers, who well ſaw that it was not for the Sake of Peace, as they pretended, but in order to oppreſs the Liberty of *Europe*, that the King of *France* had accepted this Will, contrary to the moſt ſolemn Engagements. They were much more inclined to liſten to the Emperor, who had ſent Count *Wratiſlau* to *London*, to engage King *William* in a League againſt *France*.

The Milaneſe *and the* Netherlands *ſubmit to the Duke of* Anjou.

Of this there was the more Need, as the old Prince of *Vaudemont*, Governor of the *Milaneſs* for *Spain*, had already ſubmitted to the Duke of *Enjou*, under the Name of *Phillip* V. There was alſo a Treaty on Foot between *France* and *Savoy*; and the elector of *Bavaria*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, with the Elector of *Cologn* his Brother, had ſtruck up an Alliance with the *French* Monarch. A diſmal Proſpect this for the Beginning of a War, when with all theſe Princes, and even *Spain* itſelf, in the Grand Confederacy, ſcarce were the Allies a Match for *France* about four Years before.

But, what was yet worſe, tho' *England* and *Holland* were ſufficiently inclined to take up Arms againſt *France*, the States-General, environed by the numerous Armies which that Crown had ſent into *Flanders*, thought it prudent to temporize

and,

and made no Difficulty of acknowledging the Duke of *Anjou* as lawful Succeſſor of *Charles* II. Even King *William* followed their Example the ſucceeding *April*, and the Emperor was left alone one whole Campaign, except with what Aſſiſtance William he had among the Princes of the Empire, from whom there was a Defection of the two Electors above-mentioned, and the Duke of *Wolfembuttle*. 1702

The States acknowledge him.

The Succeſs of this Campaign was greater than had been expected. Prince *Eugene*, ſuperior to the *French* at *Carpi* and *Chiari*, remained Maſter in *Italy*: And an Event happened before the End of the Year, which renewed the old Alliance. King *James*, diſtinguiſhed by the Violence of his ſhort Reign, immortal by his Fall, and happy in the Generoſity of his Protector, died in thoſe Sentiments that would have preſerved his Crown, had he practiſed them when he wore it; declared his Deteſtation of Reſtraint in Matters of Religion, and exhorted his Son never to follow that damnable Maxim. Such, as one obſerves, is the Force of Truth, when Men become capable to receive it! The ſhadowy Title of the deceaſed King muſt not long lie dormant, and *Lewis* XIV (who perhaps foreſaw that a War with the Maritime Powers would be inevitable, before he could eſtabliſh the Crown of *Spain* on his Grandſon's Head) in haſte confers it on the pretended Prince of *Wales*, who moſt pompouſly ſucceeds to the honorary Nothing of his Father. This Acknowledgment rouſes up the Indignation of all *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who ſeem more ſenſible of the Affront than their Monarch, whom it ſo nearly concerns. All the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs declare their Reſentment, and undertake to aſſert the Rights of their King.

K. James dies.

The Pretender proclaimed.

It was no Wonder that Count *Wratiſlau* now went on ſucceſsfully with his Negotiation, and that the King of *Great-Britain*, juſtly provoked againſt the

A new Alliance againſt French France.

1702 *French* Monarch, concluded an Alliance with his Imperial Majesty King *William* had too much Interest in *Holland* not to bring the States into the same Alliance, irritated as they were at the Progress of the *French* Troops, which had now overspread not only the *Spanish Netherlands*, but the Bishoprick of *Leige* and the Electorate of *Cologn*; which almost hemmed in the Dominions of their High Mightinesses, and render'd them every Hour exposed to an Invasion. His *Britannick* Majesty had just cemented this Triple Alliance, when he died at *Kensington* on the 8th of *March*, 1702; happy in having been, for near 30 Years together the chief Support of the Liberty of *Europe* against the Encroachments of *Lewis* XIV! happy in having recommended a General to his Successor equally zealous in the same Common Cause, and more fortunate in the Defence of it! Such was the Hero of these Sheets, as every *Englishman* knows, every Foreigner owns. To him we shall now return, after having taken a short View of the Progress of both Armies, before he put himself at the Head of the Allies.

King William *dies.*

Keyserswaert *besieged.*

All Things being settled as before related, the Siege of *Keyserswaert* was undertaken by the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Advice. This was one of the Places into which the King of *France* had put a Garrison, under the Name of Auxiliary Troops of the Circle of *Burgundy*. *Keyserswaert* is a little Town on the *Rhine*, two Leagues below *Dusseldorp*, and dependent on the Electorate of *Cologn*: It lies in the Form of a Parallelogram, having only one Street running from End to End, defended on the Land-Side by three Bastions and four Ravelins, and by two Bastions on the Side of the *Rhine*. The Point of an Island, which lies below the Place, is capable of being made either advantageous or prejudicial to it, according to the Hands it is in. The Marquis *de Blainville* commanded there a Garrison of six Battalions. A Detach-

ment

ment of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Troops commanded by the Prince of *Naſſau Saarbruck*, had blocked him up from the Month of *March*; but the Siege thereof did not begin till the 18th of *April*, two Days after General *Dopf* and the Baron *de Heyden* had inveſted it with the Cavalry. It is needleſs to recite the Journals of this long Siege, in which the Earl of *Marlborough* was only indirectly concerned. 1702

Twenty Thouſand *French* Troops, under the Marſhal *de Boufflers*, were aſſembled near *Ruremonde*, where they waited the Arrival of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was to command the Army of *France*. As ſoon as an Account of the Siege of *Keyſerſwaert* arrived at the *French* Court, the Marſhal had Orders to quit that Poſt, and to march with all his Forces to ſurpriſe a Body of Troops which the Allies had at *Santen*, under the Command of the Count *de Tilly*. M. *de Boufflers* marched to *Watchtendock*, from whence he decamped the 25th of *April*, and arrived on the 27th about Noon at *Alpen*. The ſame Day the Earl of *Athlone* arrived at *Nimiguen* with a Body of Horſe, and, as he was intent on obſerving the Motions of M. *de Boufflers*, marched on without Loſs of Time leaving behind him ſuch Horſes as were jaded. M. *de Boufflers*, advancing with all the Expedition he was able, and covering as much as poſſible his March drew very near *Santen*. Count *Tilly*, who had received Advice of his March by detached Parties, decamped in the Night with all poſſible Expedition; which he did the more eaſily, having had the Precaution to ſend away his Baggage and heavy Artillery towards the *Rhine*. He left however in his Camp ſome Forage and Ammunition which he had not Time to carry away. Within a League of *Cleves* he joined the Earl of *Athlone*. There happened in this March a Skirmiſh between the Van of M. *de Boufflers* Army and the Rear of the Allies, in which the latter loſt fifty, and the

The French *Army aſſembles under* M. *de Boufflers. Who marches to ſurprize Count Tilly. And miſcarries in his Deſign.*

1702 *French* a hundred and fifty Men. The Marſhal having miſcarried in his Deſign, advanced on the Side of *Bonne*, and began to commit Hoſtilities in the Countries of *Clexes* and *Juliers*.

Count Tallard *faces* duſſeldorp *and threatens to bombard it.*

The Count *de Tallard*, who commanded the Troops of the Circle of *Burgundy*, in the mean time drew five Battalions out of *Rheinberg*, and with a Body of 10,000 Men appeared before *Duſſeldorp*, with a deſign to bombard that City. The Electreſs *Palatine* ſent to let him know that ſhe commanded there, and deſired to be informed if he had expreſs Orders to bombard the Place. Count *Tallard* diſpatched the Contents of this Meſſage to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was now arrived in the Army; and having received his Anſwer, the Marſhal demanded that a Fort, which commanded a Bridge of Boats, ſhould be raiſed: that the Bridge ſhould be demoliſhed: that free Paſſage ſhould be given him into the Country of *Burgue* and that the City of *Duſſeldorp*, ſhould pay him 100,000 Crowns. The Princeſs abſolutely refuſed the Money, and the free Paſſage; nor conſented to the other Articles, but on Condition that *Tallard* ſhould agree, on his Part, to demoliſh the Fort, and break down the Bridge before *Bonne*: And as the Allies prepared to bombard this latter Place, in caſe the *French* proceeded to bombard *Duſſeldorp*, Count *Tallard* received Order, to deſiſt.

Marches to the relief of Keyſerſwaert.

He then marched with his Troops as high as *Keyſerſwaert*, the *Rhine* being between him and the Allies, and erected Batteries to incommode the Troops employed in the Siege. The Prince of *Anhalt* continued to make a terrible Fire upon that Place; but his Highneſs was not able to deſtroy a Bridge of Boats, whereby a Communication was preſerved between the Town and Count *Tallard*: So that the latter could throw into the Town whatever Succours it needed, and refreſh the Gar-

riſon

rison as he thought fit. This it was that rendered the Siege so long and so bloody: For tho' the Allies had battered that Fortress with 48 Pieces of Cannon, and 30 Mortars, and had reduced all the Fortifications, and even the Houses to Ashes; yet so many Obstacles were thrown in their Way by the Governor and Count *Tallard*, that they could not attack the Covert-Way till the 9th of *June*. They at the same Time attacked a Ravelin, in which they made a Lodgment, notwithstanding the incessant Fire from the Place, and the Enemy's springing three Mines. After this Success there was nothing to hinder their erecting Batteries on the Covert-way, and thence making such a Breach as would enable them to take the Town by Storm. On the 15th therefore M. *de Blainville* beat a Parley, and surrendered the Place on very honourable Terms. The Prince of *Nassau Saarbruck*, Lieutenant General *Dopf*, the Prince of *Anhalt Dessau*, Major General *Dedem*, the Prince of *Holstein Beeck*, Major-General *Rantzau*, and the Brigadiers *Capel*, *Wilkes* and *Carle*, distinguished themselves in this Siege, and the first especially acquired great Reputation. 1702

That Town taken.

While this passed on the *Rhine*, the main Army of *France*, under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, assisted by M. *de Boufflers*, 20 Lieutenant-Generals, and 30 Major-Generals, threatened the *United Provinces*, with an Invasion like that of the Year 1672. We have taken Notice that this Army was encamped at *Santen*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* arrived on the 3d of *May*. The main Army of the Allies, commanded by the Earl of *Athlone*, was encamped at *Clarinbeck*, near *Cleves*, where being joined by a Body of *English* Troops, it became 30 or 35,000 strong, that of *France* being more numerous by a Third.

Boufflers *attempts to surprise the Earl of* Athlone.

The Eyes of *Europe* were fixed on these two Armies, as the Fate of it seemed to depend on their

1702 reſpective Succeſs *Burgundy* was only a Scholar to his Deputy *Boufflers*, who, as well as *Athlone*, was a general of great Experience. As the *French* had failed of ſurprizing Count *Tilly*, the Marſhal was deſirous his Pupil ſhould ſtrike a more important Blow. He formed a Deſign therefore to ſurprize *Nimiguen*, or at leaſt to beat up the Earl of *Athlone*'s Quarters, and to cut off his Commuication with the Town. As he was ſuperior in Number, the Thing did not appear very difficult, and the Republick thought itſelf in ſome Danger, on ſeeing the Enemy at her Gates.

Who retires ſafe to Nimuguen. But the Earl of *Athlone*, having received Advice that M. *de Boufflers* was in full March, and advanced towards *Cock*, between *Niers* and the Wood of *Cleves*, reſolved in Council to move that Day, with the whole Army. As the Horſes belonging to the Artillery and Carriages were at Graſs, it was 8 o'Clock at Night before they could begin their March he immediately detached Major-General *Rhoo*, with 6Squadrons of Horſe, and 2 Regiments of Dragoons, to prevent the Enemy by poſſeſſing himſelf of an Eminence near *Mooker-Heyde*: But the Dragoons miſſing their Way in the Night, took the Road of *Grave*, from whence they returned the next Day. The Earl however detached afterwards the Duke of *Wirtemberg* and Lord *Cuts*, with 10 or 12 Squadrons, to ſupport Major-General *Rhoo*. But the Duke had the Misfortune not to find him, and was forced to take Poſt on another Eminence. *Athlone* followed him with all the Cavalry, having directed the Infantry to take a ſhorter Road, which led directly to *Nimeguen*; and ſcarce had his Lordſhip got out of a narrow Paſs, at the Head of the Horſe, before he recived Advice from the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, that ſome Squadrons of the Enemy began to appear. The Earl thereupon ſent to the Duke, to deſire him to obſerve their Numbers, and to retire in caſe he found them too ſtrong; which he did,

after

after discovering that they were 25 or 30 Squa- 1702
drons.

Athlone then drew up his Horse in Order of Battle, and there happened some slight Skirmishing between him and the Enemy. As he advanced to sustain the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the *French* made a Halt, and his Lordship continued his Retreat in good Order, till he reached his Infantry. The *French* followed him leisurely, which made him at first apprehend that it was not the whole Army, but a Detachment only. A little after, however, perceiving they made some Signals with Powder, the Earl, with the Advice of the other Generals, resolved to march strait to *Nimeguen*: He sent also 2 Battalions of the Prince of *Orange*'s Guards, and 2 other Battalions, to *Grave*. The *French*, perceiving his Design, and all their Cavalry being come up, quickened their March, and came very close to the Earl, about the Height of *St. Anne*. They even disordered a little both his Horse and Foot; but these being quickly sustained, the Enemy were pushed in their Turn. At last, his Lordship finding they were much superior in Number, and that both their Infantry and Artillery were come up, he continued to retire within the Works of *Nimeguen*, and thereby saved his Army. He afterwards transported his Baggage, and Part of his Horse, cross the *Waal*, and then posted his Infantry in the Works, they consisting of 20 Battalions only. In this Retreat the *English* brought up the Rear, and retired in good Order, putting a Stop to the Houshold Troops of *France*

After some slight Skirmishes.

While Things passed in this Manner on the *Rhine* and the *Waal*, all Things were in Motion in *Spanish* and *Dutch Flanders*. The *French*, who were in Possession of the former, busied themselves in casting up Lines, in order to cover them from the Attempts of the Allies; but having carried them within Reach of the Cannon of *Lillo*, the

Progress of the French Lines stopt by the Governor of Lillo.

Com-

1702 Commanding Officer there fired upon their Pioneers, and obliged them to quit their Work. On the other Side, the Governor of *Sas Van Ghent*, in the Night between the 9th and 10th of *April*, ſent a Detachment of his Garriſon, under the Direction of Engineers, with proper Inſtruments, and Orders to build a Fort upon the Dike between *Sas* and the Village of *Arſene*, that he might be able to lay the Country under Water, in caſe of Neceſſity, and to cover *Sas* from a Bombardment. They worked with ſuch Diligence on this Deſign, that the Place, by the 19th, was in a Poſture of Defence.

A new Fort erected near Sas van Ghent

Between the 8th and 9th of *May*, in the Night the *French* made an Attempt on certain little Forts in the Neighbourhood of *Hulſt*. The ſmalleſt they ſeized without Trouble, in which were only a Serjeant and ſix Men, who abandoned it on their approach: But when afterwards, with 400 Men, they attacked the reſt, they were repulſed with Loſs.

The French attack the Forts near Hulſt.

Much about this Time, General *Coehorn*, who in the laſt War had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the Siege of *Namur*, and well ſupported his Reputation in the Beginning of this, attacked, took, and razed the Lines in *Flanders*, with all their Redoubts between Fort *Iſabel* and Fort *St. Donat*. He alſo took the laſt mentioned Place, where they had a Garriſon of 700 Men, and laid all the neighbouring Country under Contribution.

General Coehorn razes the French Lines.

To return to *Nimiguen*. While the *French*, under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, pillaged the City of *Cleves*, and deſtroyed its fine Park; M. *de Groveſtein*, Colonel of the Regiment of *Friezeland*, marched with a Detachment from the Cavalry of 300 Men to reconnoitre the Enemy, He met with a Party of their Horſe, conſiſting of 400 Men, and reſolving to attack them, ordered his Men not to fire, till haivng received theirs, he fell on Sword in Hand, put them to Flight and purſued

M Groveſtein routs a French Party.

purſued them for half an Hour, till he came to a Defile: Then he cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, having had 76 Men killed and wounded, and having himſelf received 6 or 7 ſlight Cuts. The *French* loſt more than 150 Men, and had 3 Officers taken Priſoners. 1702

All this was only a prelude to the Campaign, and ſerved but to introduce Events more conſiderable. The *French*, after having been Victors ſo long, were to be vanquiſhed in their Turn, and to loſe all their Conqueſts. *Marlborough* takes on him the Command; unites the Strength of the Allies that had hitherto been divided, ſpreads Terror wherever he goes, never engages without Defeating the Enemy, never beſieges without Taking the Place!

THE HISTORY OF JOHN Duke of *Marlborough.*

BOOK II.

From his Taking upon him the Command *of the Confederate Army, to his Victory over the* French *and* Bavarians *at* Hockstedt *in* 1704.

1702 *The Earl of* Marlborough *marches towards the* French.

THE State of the Campaign, before the Earl of *Marlborough* took the Field, was related at the End of the preceding Book. That Nobleman being arrived at the *Hague*, with the Character of Embassador from the Queen of *England*, and Generalissimo of her Troops, assured the States-General of the Affection and Support of that Princess; upon which the States gave Orders to their Generals, to acknowledge

knowledge him for Commander in Chief, and to obey his Orders. The Earl of *Athlone*, whose late Conduct had brought him into high Reputation, was set on by the other *Dutch* Generals to insist on his Quality of Field-Marshal, and to require alternate Command with the *English* Captain General. But the States obliged him to submit; and when the Earl of *Marlborough* arrived at *Nimeguen*, on the 2d of *July*, the Earl of *Athlone* and General *Dopf* came the next Day to compliment him, and to receive his Orders. *Marlborough* assembled there an Army of 60,000 Men, composed of 19 Battalions of the Troops which had been employed in the Siege of *Keyserswaert*, those of *Lunenberg* and *Hesse*, and the *English* Forces from *Breda* under Major-General *Lumley*. With these, and some other Bodies which joined him, 62 Cannon, 8 Mortars and Haubitzers, and 24 Pontons, he encamped at *Deckenberg*. Having held there a Council of War of all the General Officers, in order to concert the Operations for the Remainder of the Campaign, he caused the Army of the Allies to cross the *Maese* near *Grave*, and encamped within two Leagues and an half of the *French*, who were entrenched between *Gock* and *Genep*, and superior in Force to the Allies. 1702

After several Marches, and other Motions to provoke the *French* to a Battle, his Lordship evidently perceived that they were as desirous to avoid, as he was to come to an Engagement, which they shewed by retreating continually, or by posting themselves in inaccessible Places. He therefore resolved, in Concert with the Deputies of the States General, to drive the Enemy from such Places as they had on the *Maese*, in order to secure the Navigation of that River, and the Communication with *Maestricht*. At *Gravenbroeck*, during these Marches, they took a Castle, seated in a Morass, and surrounded by a double Moat, with good Palisadoes. Lord *Cuts* commanded the Attack. Soon after

The French retreat before him.

Castle taken.

1702 after General *Schultz*, with a ſmall Detachment, 6 Cannon, and 2 Haubitzers, took the Town and Caſtle of *Wert*.

It would be tedious to relate all that paſſed in this Campaign, while Marſhal *Boufflers* retreated to ſhun, and the Earl of *Marlborough* purſued to force him to a Battle. This inglorious Conduct ſo loſt the Marſhal with his Maſter, that he never was cordially truſted after, tho' he had before very great Reputation. At laſt, when *Marlborough* ſat down before *Venlo*, on the 29th of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, who did not come under the Tuition of M. *Boufflers* to ſee the *French* Towns taken, immediately ſet out on his Return to *Paris*. *Venlo* is ſituated on the Banks of a little Iſle, which is formed by the Junction of the *Maeſe* with the Rivulet of *Staven*. In the Year 1558, the firſt Bombs were thrown againſt this Place; and in a little Time after they were with greater Succeſs made uſe of at the Siege of *Watchtendonck*. It was now defended by 6 Battalions of Foot, 2 Squadrons of Horſe, 38 Cannon, and 12 Mortars, all furniſhed with Plenty of Ammunition. The Troops employed in the Siege were 32 Battalions, 36 Squadrons, 64 Cannon, 24 Mortars and Haubitzers, and a great Number of Cohorns. This Place being inveſted by the *Dutch* and *Pruſſian* Horſe, and a ſufficient Number of Foot being arrived, they began to break Ground on the 29th of *Auguſt*. The *Engliſh*, under the Command of Lord *Cuts*, opened the Trenches in the Quarters of Baron *Obdam*, General of the Horſe; and the Troops of the King of *Pruſſia* did the ſame on the other Side of the *Maeſe*, without the Loſs of a Man. The Prince of *Naſſau Saarbruck* commanded the Siege, and General *Coehorn* had the Direction of the Attacks.

The Siege of Venlo.

Venlo taken.

The Batteries being got ready, they fired upon the Place on the 5th of *September*, with all the Fury imaginable. They began on the 6th the Attack

tack of Fort *St. Michael*, which is on the other Side of the River; and the *Engliſh*, under Lord *Cuts*, carried it by Aſſault on the 8th, having entered it together with the *French*, after driving them from the Covert-Way. The Garriſon was conducted to *Boeſleduc* and *Nimeguen*, and they immediately erected a Battery in the Fort, from whence they played with great Fury on the Town, which was taken on the 12th, by a very ſingular Accident. The Beſiegers, having received New of the Taking of *Landau*, were drawn up in Order of Battle, to make three general Diſcharges of the Artillery and Small Arms, according to Cuſtom. The Beſieged, who were already in Diſtreſs, obſerving this, and conceiving they were about to make a general Aſſault, immediately beat a Parley; and Hoſtages being given on each Side, the Capitulation was ſigned on the 13th, and the Garriſon conducted to *Antwerp*. 1702

Lord *Cuts*, on this Occaſion, behaved with a great deal of Prudence, as well as Bravery, in which latter he never was deficient. The Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Prince of *Hanover*, (afterwards Duke of *York*, and Biſhop of *Oſnabrug*) Colonel *Blood* and M. *de Martinerie*, both Engineers, and the Prince of *Anhalt*, were all taken Notice of by the Journaliſts of thoſe Times, for their gallant and intrepid Behaviour. *Bravery of ſeveral Officers.*

While the Allies were beſieging *Venlo*, the *French* attempted to ſurprize *Hulſt* in *Flanders*. The Marquis of *Bedmar*, having aſſembled all the Forces under his Command, and made great Preparations at *Ghent*, marched towards the Place, and immediately made himſelf Maſter of ſome little Forts which covered the Sluices: But on his attempting the Fort of the *Great Kykuyt*, General *Dedem*, who commanded there, made ſuch a terrible Fire upon the Enemy, that the *French* were obliged to retire, after four ineffectual Aſſaults, which coſt them more than 600 Men, At laſt, a *The French attempt Hulſt, but without Succeſs.*

con-

1702 considerable Reinforcement having entered *Hulst*, the Marquis of *Bedmar* abandoned his Enterprize and re-entered his Lines, after having caused the Forts he had possessed himself of to be demolished.

Steven-swaert *attacked and taken.*

Soon after the taking of *Venlo*, the Count *de Noyelles* was detached with a Body of Troops to besiege *Stevenswaert*, and the Prince of *Nassau Saarbruck* to invest *Roermonde*. The Officer who commanded in *Stevenswaert* did not wait till a Breach was made before he surrendered the Place: He capitulated on the 1st of *October*, and on the 3d he and his Garrison marched out, in order to be conducted to *Namur*.

Roer-monde *taken.*

There was now nothing wanting but the Taking of *Roermonde* (a Place of more Importance, tho' not so strong as *Venlo*) to render the Navigation safe from *Grave* to *Maestricht*. The Trenches were opened before that City in the Night, between the 2d and 3d of *October*. As the Seige was carried on with great Vigour, it was brought to capitulate on the 7th, and the Garrison marched out on the 9th, with 4 Pieces of Cannon, and were conducted to *Louvain*.

The Allies march to Leige.

Tho' the Season was now pretty far advanced, the Allies, animated by the success of their Arms, resolved to finish the Campaign with the Conquest of some other Place, of as great importance as any they had yet taken. M. *Boufflers* had some Apprehension of their Design, and was in Pain for *Liege*. He went twice to that City, on the 27th of *September*, and the 2d of *October*; visited very carefully the Citadels, and all the advantageous Post from thence to *Maestricht*, as if he intended to encamp between those Cities: But no sooner was he informed that the Earl of *Marlborough* was in Motion, and marching directly to *Liege*, but he quitted precipitately his Camp at *Tongeren*, and retired behind the Lines of *Brabant*, in order to cover the Places in that Province which had not hitherto been attacked.

It

It has been obſerved in Regard to this March, how much the Earl of *Marlborough's* Intelligence and Conduct were ſuperior to the Marſhal's whom he circumvented in every Reſpect. Having Notice one Day where the Marſhal intended to be at Noon; his Lordſhip marched ſo early, and poſted himſelf in ſuch a Manner, that *Boufflers*, with his Army, came within Shot of the Confederate Troops, before he knew where they were, and in all Probability would have been ruined, if the too cautious *Dutch* Generals, influenced by the Deputies of the States, could have been prevailed on to venture a Battle: But that being prevented, the Marſhal eſcaped out of the Snare, by Favour of a dark Night. 1702 *An Inſtance of Lord* *good Conduct.*

On the 13th of *October*, the Army of the Allies Liege appeared before *Liege*, and ſoon after their Troops entered the Town, which the *French* had abandoned in the Morning, in order to retire to the Citadels. As this City is a Member of the Empire, they took Poſſeſſion of it in his Imperial Majeſty's Name. It was agreed by the Allies, that they would not make any Uſe of the Town in attacking the Citadels, to the Intent that it might eſcape Ruin. *taken.*

The Batteries being in order, they began on the 20th in the Morning to fire on the Great Citadel; and the ſame Evening the Trenches were opened in two Places, that two Attacks might be made, one by the *Engliſh* on the Right, and the other by the *Dutch* on the Left. They puſhed their Approaches that Night within 40 Paces of the Counterſcarp. The next Day the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe*, Lieutenant General, relieved the Trenches which were enlarged and perfected; and on the 22d they were relieved by Lieutenant-General *Scholten*, and the Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, late King of *Great-Britain*. The Allies had hitherto been ſo fortunate as to looſe only a ſmall Number of Men in this Siege, notwithſtanding *The Citadels of* *tacked.*

the

1702 the prodigious Fire made by the *French*: And as the Fire made by M. *de Coehorn*, General of the Artillery, was far greater, his Cannon and Bombs overturned every Thing in the Citadel, and made a ſufficient Breach. All things were immediately put in order for an Aſſault, which was made on the 23d between 4 and 5 in the Evening; and tho' nothing more was deſigned than to ſecure a Lodgment on the Counterſcarp, yet in half an Hour it was carried, and the Soldiers having puſhed the Enemy to the Breach, and made themſelves Maſters of it, entered the Citadel on every Side, which they likewiſe carried Sword in Hand, and gained therein a very conſiderable Booty. M. *de Violaine*, the Governor, was taken in the Breach, with ſeveral other Officers: and after ſome Slaughter, which could not be prevented in the firſt Shock, the Garriſon, amounting to eight Battalions, were made Priſoners without any Capitulation. The Company of Cadets in the *Dutch* Guards performed Wonders in this Attack. and it was chiefly owing to the Valour of theſe young Heroes that they carried the Covert Way. This Company was compoſed of none but the Children of *French* Refugees, out of whom many excellent Officers have been taken, and ſome advanced to very conſiderable Commands in the *Dutch* Troops. This Company diſtinguiſhed itſelf on every Occaſion which offered during the War, till the Battle of *Malplaquet* in 1709, wherein they were entirely cut to Pieces, in forcing an Intrenchment.

And carried.

Bravery of the Dutch *Cadets.*

The Charter-Houſe attacked and taken. The Taking of the Charter-houſe followed ſoon after that of the Great Citadel. Bad Weather obliged the Allies to defer the Attack to the 29th, and the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe* commanded the *Dutch* Troops at this Siege. As ſoon as the Batteries were in Order. and they began to fire from them, the Commandant, fearing that he and his Garriſon ſhould have the ſame Fate with thoſe

in

n the other Citadel, beat a Parley the ſame Day, and demanded to capitulate. The Capitulation being concluded, the Garriſon, compoſed of five Battalions, marched out with two Pieces of Cannon, and were conducted to *Antwerp*. 1702

While the Allies were thus purſuing their Conqueſts, in a Manner ſuperior to their Hopes, the Prince of *Naſſau-Saarbruck* finiſhed his Days glorioufly at *Roermonde*, after having taken *Keyſerſwaert*, and driven the *French* from all the Places on the *Maeſe*. He was Field-Marſhal of the Armies of the States-General, whom he had ſerved 38 Years, and their High Mightineſſes gave his Command to the Earl of *Athlone*, who had rendered himſelf worthy of it. Thus ended the firſt Campaign of this War, of which we may juſtly ſay, that its Events equally ſurprized the Allies and the *French*, being ſuch as neither of them expected. *The Death of the Pr. of* Naſſau-Saarbruck. *The Earl of* Athlone *made Field Marſhal.*

The Armies ſeparated for ſome time after, in order to go into Winter Quarters, and the Earl of Marlborough ſet out for the *Hague* with M. *Celdermalſen*, eſcorted only by a Lieutenant and 25 Men. At *Roermonde* they joined General *Coehorn*, and continued their Voyage together, under an Eſcort of 60 Horſe, beſides 60 Men who were with *Coehorn* in his Yatch. Their Excellencies arrived the 4th of *November* at *Venlo*, where they were furniſhed with a freſh Eſcort. But coming in the Night to a Place two or three Leagues below *Venlo*, where the Cavalry were obliged to march at a conſiderable Diſtance from the River, and the two Yatchts being ſeparated from each other, a Party of 35 Men, from the Garriſon of *Gelders*, iſſued from an Ambuſcade, and attacked the Veſſel wherein the Earl was. They preſently laid hold of the Rope, dragged the Yatcht towards the Shore, making at the ſame Time a general Diſcharge, throwing into it ſeveral Grenades, and at laſt boarding and making themſelves Maſter *The Earl of* Marlborough *taken.*

of

1702 of the Yatcht, in Spite of the 25 Soldiers who were therein. The Commander of the Party having demanded if they had any Paſſports, Mr. *d'Obdam* and Mr. *Geldermalſen* produced theirs, which were according to Form The Earl of *Marlborough* had one, which had been granted in the late War to his Brother General *Churchill*, and was long ago expired: This he tendered with ſo much Calmneſs, and ſuch Preſence of Mind, that the Partiſan took it for a good one, and having ſearched their Baggage, ſeized what Silver Plate they found, and made the Eſcort of 25 Men Priſoners, they left their Excellencies to purſue their Voyage in Peace

And diſcharged

The Dutch *alarmed.*

The Governor of *Venlo* had no ſooner News of the Surprizal of this Boat, but he marched out to inveſt *Gelders* in order to recover the illuſtrious Priſoners; and the States General immediately aſſembled thereupon, and were under an inexpreſſible Concern, while the People condoled each other on their common Loſs in a General. In a Word, they were in a Manner overwhelmed with Deſpair, till they heard the News of his Eſcape which made the Multitude crowd the Streets to ſee him ſafely returned.

Tho' the Earl of *Marlborough* had no immediate Concern in what was done this Year on the *Rhine*; yet as his Campaign in the Empire two Summers after was a Conſequence of the Commotions ſtirred up there by the Elector of *Bavaria*, in this and the following Year, it is neceſſary we ſhould take a View of this Part of the War; and indeed the Succeſs of different Armies, in a general War, have ſo much Effect on each others Actions, that it is impoſſible to relate clearly the Exploits of one Commander, without taking ſome Notice of others concerned.

The Emperor had aſſembled on the *Rhine* this Year an Army of 40,000 Men, commanded by

by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, under the King of the *Romans*, afterwards the Emperor *Joseph*. Marshal *de Catinat* commanded the Army of *France*, which was not strong enough to act offensively. The Prince of *Baden* opened the Campaign by the Siege of the importing Fortress of *Landau*. M. *de Melac*, a Lieutenant-General, commanded in that Place. Being apprised of the Design of the Imperial General, he took all imaginable Precautions, in order to render it abortive, by causing several outworks to be raised to impede the Progress of the *Germans*, and to give Time to the Marshal *de Catinat* and Lieutenant-General *d'Uxelles*, who commanded in *Alsatia*, to come to his Relief. These Difficulties served only to animate the Prince of *Baden*; who having secured the Lines of *Loutre*, marched towards *Landau* on the 16th of *June*, and took up his Quarters at *Hartsheim*, at the Distance of about half a League, with the Margrave of *Bareith*, the Counts of *Thungen*, *Frise*, and *Vanten*. Counts *Linengen*, who commanded the Right, was posted at *Merleinhem*, and the left extended to *Dave*, under the Counts of *Nassau Weilbourg*. 1702 on the *Landau* *besieged.*

On the 19th of *June* the Trenches were opened, and the King of the *Romans* arrived on the 27th in the Army. The Seige was very long, and afforded several Officers of Distinction Opportunities of acquiring Glory; such as the Prince of *Saxony*, Prince *Prosper* of *Furstemburg*, Prince *Leopold* of *Diestrichsteen*, the Prince of *Durmstadt* and the Prince of *Wertemberg*. Several brave Officers also lost their Lives here; amongst others the Count of *Soissons*, Prince *Eugene's* eldest Brother, the Prince of *Dourlach*, and a Count of the Name of *Konigsegg*, The Place capitulated on the 10th of *September*. M. *de Malec* acquired a great Deal of Glory by the gallant Defence which he made; as did the Prince of *Baden* by his Activity and Constancy, which supplied an infinite Number of things *Taken.*

1702 neceſſary in ſuch Enterprizes, that are ſeldom to be had when the Empire is to furniſh them. Count *Friſe*, Major-General of the Imperial Troops, was appointed Governor of the new Conqueſt.

Elector of Bavaria *ſurpriſes* Ulm.

Landau had no ſooner ſurrendered, but the Elector of *Bavaria*, who hitherto had not declared, poſſeſſed himſelf by Surprize of the City of *Ulm*, to puniſh, as he pretended, the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, for having taken Part with the Emperor, notwithſtanding a Treaty they had made with his Electoral Highneſs, for maintaining the Tranquility of the Empire. This unexpected Action was followed by his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Orders to the Marquis *de Villars*, to march with a Part of his Army on the other Side of the *Rhine*, in order to join the Duke of *Bavaria*, who was advancing through the *Black-Foreſt*.

Advances towards the Black Foreſt.

The Body of Troops commanded by *Villars*, who had under him 2 Lieutenant-Generals, 4 Major-Generals and 8 Brigadiers, conſiſted of 36 Squadrons, and 32 Battalions. The Marquis marched directly to *Hunningen*, in order to paſs the *Rhine* there; but the vigilant Prince of *Baden* prevented him, and rendered that Paſſage far more difficult than it was imagined at the Court of *Verſailles*, inaſmuch as it produced a very bloody Engagement between *Friedlingen* and *Etlingen*, where no leſs than 4000 Men on both Sides remained dead in the Field.

Battle of Friedlingen.

Prince *Lewis* having received Advice, that, either by Stratagem or Chance, the *French* had ſurpriſed *Newburg*, gave Orders that his Army ſhould advance on that Side, with Deſign to retake that Town, where the *French* intended to paſs the *Rhine*. His Serene Highneſs had a Conference on this Subject with the *Dutch* General *Dopf*. *Villars*, being informed that the Confederate Troops were decamped from before *Hunningen*, cauſed his Army to paſs the *Rhine* on ſuch Bridges as were ready, and in Boats, and then advanced

vanced into the Plain of *Weil*, on the Side of the River, of which he took Poſſeſſion; as alſo of ſome Eminences thereabouts. The Confederate Generals had no ſooner an Account of this Motion, than they put their Horſe in Order of Battle, that they might advance towards the Enemy. The Infantry were likewiſe directed to make themſelves Maſters of the Eminences, where, when they arrived, they found the Enemy ranged in Battalia. Upon this, the Cavalry of the Allies, puſhed on by their too great Ardour, fell upon them Sword in Hand, and were received with a general Diſcharge of ſmall Arms, which did terrible Execution. The *French* having forced theſe Squadrons, drove them back on the two Lines behind, and put thoſe likewiſe into Confuſion, inſomuch that all the Cavalry retired with great Precipitation towards *Friburg*, and never returned to the Charge. The Infantry, who were alſo drawn up in Battalia, fell upon the *French* Foot, who had ſome Pieces of Cannon; and after the Fight had continued for ſome time doubtful, the Prince of *Baden* arrived. 1702

The Preſence of their General animated his Troops ſo much, that throwing themſelves on the Enemy, Sword in Hand, with their Bayonets fixed to their Pieces, they put them to the Rout, and purſued them more than three Quarters of a League, without ſuffering them to rally, and without the *French* Cavalry making any Motion. The Prince of *Baden*, having in this Manner gained the Field of Battle, remained thereon ſix whole Hours, waiting for his Horſe to come up and attack thoſe of the Enemy. If the Cavalry had appeared, the Prince of *Baden* would certainly have obtained a compleat Victory; but perceiving that not ſo much as a Squadron came in Sight, he marched directly towards *Staufen*, the Cavalry of the Enemy not daring to purſue him. In this Action the Imperialiſts retook 6 Pieces of Cannon from the *French* *The* French *routed.*

1702 Infantry, which they had before loſt to the Horſe, and alſo 5 Pieces belonging to the Enemy. The Prince of *Baden* obſerves, in his Account of the Battle given to the King of the *Romans*, that it is not to be imagined how ſo a great a Body of Foot, ſupported by their Horſe, and flushed with Succeſs at firſt, could ſuffer itſelf to be defeated and purſued in ſuch a Manner, by ſo ſmall a Number as the Imperial Infantry was.----This Action, which the *French*, according to Cuſtom, called a Victory on their Side, procured *Villars* a Marſhal's Truncheon.

Lord Marlborough *complimented by the States Deputies.*

As ſoon as Lord *Marlborough* was arrived at the *Hague*, the Grand Penſionary *Heinſius*, and others, were deputed from the States-General, to congratulate him upon his victorious Campaign, and happy Eſcape from his Captivity near *Venlo*. Then their High-Mightineſſes confirmed his Lordſhip General of their Forces, and continued on him his Salary of 10,000 *l.* a Year for Maintenance of that Dignity.

And by the Engliſh *Parliament.*

After receiving this Honour, his Lordſhip ſailed for *England*, where he was received with all Joy and Affection. No ſooner was he come to his Apartment at *St. James*'s, but the Commons, who had voted him thanks for his great Services, and retrieving the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, deputed Sir *Edward Seymour*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, and ſeveral of their Members, to compliment him. As Sir *Edward* exerted all his Eloquence to diſplay the Satisfaction the Commons took in acknowledging the General's tranſcendent Merits, ſo the General ſignalized his uſual Modeſty, in aſcribing his Succeſſes to her Majeſty's happy Conduct, and the Bravery of her Troops. This Winter the Queen, with the Approbation of both Houſes of Parliament, created his Lordſhip Marquis of *Blandford* and Duke of *Marlborough*, and gave him 5000 *l. per Annum* out of the Poſt-Office.

Office, for the Support of that Honour, during his Life. 1703

It was obſerved, on this Occaſion, that Sir Edward *Seymour**, notwithſtanding his former Rhetorick, did, with ſome others, excuſe themſelves from complying with her Majeſty's Requeſt, of granting the ſame Term in the Penſion, as in the Honour; and pleaded their Unwillingneſs to make a Precedent for alienating the Crown Revenues. The Duke bore this Oppoſition with his conſtant Evenneſs of Temper; and when he had heard the Debates that had paſſed in the Houſe, prayed the Queen "rather to forego her gracious Meſſage in his Behalf, than to create any Uneaſineſs or Diſtruſt on his Account, ſince it might embarraſs her Affairs, and be of ill Conſequence to the Publick."

Sir Ed. Seymour's *inconſiſtent behaviour.*

His Grace repaired early to the *Hague* the following Spring, and having reſolved with the States Deputies, that one of the firſt Things to be done was to reduce the Electorate of *Cologn*, he advanced with his Army that Way.

On the 24th of *April*, *Bonne*, the uſual Reſidence of the Elector, was inveſted by Lieutenant General *Bulau* with the *Lunenburg* Cavalry, and ſome Regiments of the *Pruſſian* Horſe. The next Day Lieutenant-General *Fagel* arrived with the Infantry; and as ſoon as the Duke of *Marlborough* came, the Camp was extended from *Rhineſdorf* to *Kruitſberg*. On the 26th, Lieutenant-General *Coehorn* arrived by Water with the Veſſels and Pontons, and preſenly a Bridge was laid over the River at *Rhineſdorf*, and the Faſcines, Gabions, and other Materials got in a Readineſs. The Town was ordered to be attacked in three Places; the firſt againſt the Fort on the other Side of the *Rhine*,

Bonne *inveſted.*

* This Gentleman, who was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. was always ſuſpected to be in the French Intereſt, and had been under an Impeachment. *Mackey*'s *Characters*, page 111.

1703 and the other two againſt the City and the Out-works that ſecured it. The firſt Attack was commanded by Lieutenant-General *Coehorn*, the ſecond by the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and the third by Lieutenant-General *Fagel*. Twelve Regiments were ordered to each of theſe Attacks, who took their Poſts the 27th. A Flying-Bridge alſo arrived from *Coblentz*, with the Artillery, conſiſting of 6 Demiculverins, 4 Quarter-Pieces, 100 Carriages, 4 Mortars, 6 leſſer Guns, 7000 Cannon-Balls 24 and 12 Pounders, 200 Bombs from 75 to 30 Pound each, 800 great Grenades, 1200 leſſer, 10,000 Hand-Grenades, 2000 lb. of Powder, with a proportionable Number of Spades, great Bills, and Faſcines of 10 Foot each. On the 3d of *May*, the Trenches were opened in all the three Attacks, and the Beſiegers continued their Approaches with more than ordinary Diligence, and with the Loſs only of 7 killed and 20 wounded before the City; and 14 ſlain, and ſome few wounded in repelling a Sally of thoſe in the Fort, who were driven back with Loſs.

The Governor ſends to the Duke of Marlborough.

In the mean time, the Batteries were carried on with that Alacrity, and the Preparations for Deſtruction appeared ſo dreadful, that the Governor ſent a Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, importing, that an Agreement had been made the laſt Year, between the Electors *Palatine* and *Cologn*, that the Cities of *Duſſeldorp* and *Bonne* ſhould not be bombarded, in order to preſerve the Churches, Palaces, and other publick Buildings; the Performance of which Agreement he was ordered to requeſt from his Grace; and to declare withal, that unleſs the ſame were obſerved, the Elector of *Bavaria* would deſtroy the City of *Newburg*, belonging to the Elector *Palatine*. The Duke having imparted this Letter to the Elector *Palatine*, and taken the Advice of the General Officers, it was thought convenient that his Grace ſhould anſwer

swer it in general Terms, " That it was neither 1703
" his Custom nor his Inclination to destroy Cities
" or publick Buildings out of a premeditated De-
" sign, provided the Enemy's Conduct did not
" put him upon such a necessity." Which answer was sent by a Trumpeter.

The Batteries being ready the 8th, the Besiegers began to fire with good Success: For the same Day the Chain which held the Flying-Bridge, by Means of which the Fort communicated with the Town. was broke by a Cannon shot, and the Bridge staved in Pieces, and carried away. Here the Enemy had several Men slain, while they attempted to save the Bridge. Next Day the Battery which played upon the Fort made such a Breach, that the General resolved to storm it; when the Enemy, not thinking it safe to hazard the Event, set fire to their Caserns, and retreated into the Ravelin, in order to get into the Town in Boats: But they were so closely pursued by the Besiegers into the Ravelin, that they had not time to effect their Design. Ten Men were killed, and 30 taken Prisoners, among whom was the Commander of the Fort, and 3 other Officers. The Besiegers had but 3 Men killed, and some few wounded: A Success so unexpected, that the Duke of *Marlborough* sent away an express to the States-General, to acquaint them with it. *The Fort taken.*

A little before the Gaining of the Fort, an unhappy Accident happened in General *Dedem*'s Attack, (who commanded under *Fagel*) where 150 Bomb, and as many Grenades, unfortunately took fire, and were blown up, together with a Lieutenant and 5 Workmen. *An Accident befals the Besiegers.*

The Besiegers being Masters of the Fort, Orders were given for raising in it a new Battery, that the Cannon and Mortars might be brought nearer the Town. They began to play the 12th, in order to make two Breaches, with a Design to

1703 assault the Place from the Prince of *Hesse*'s and General *Dedem's* Attacks. Next Day about Noon, the Besieged with about 1000 Foot, supported by all their Horse and Dragoons, made a Sally upon *Dedem*'s Attack, where the Besiegers in the Trenches were at first put into some Disorder. This gave the Enemy an Opportunity to possess themselves of one of the Batteries. However the Besiegers soon recovered themselves, and repulsed the Assailants with the Loss of 100 Men slain, and as many wounded, besides a Major and 3 Captains taken Prisoners: While the Number of the Slain and Taken, on the Besiegers Side, did not amount to half the Number.

The Counterscarp taken.

And now all Things being in a Readiness to assault the Counterscarp and Covert-Way, on that Side next the Prince of *Hesse*'s Attack, the Onset began about Eight o'Clock at Night, under the Command of Major General *Tettau* and Brigadier *Palant*, the Prince being there in Person. The Assailants, seconded by the continual Fire and Mortars of the several Attacks, forced their Way forward, drove the Besieged from their Works, and lodged themselves where they had intended. In this Action General *Tettau* was wounded, with about seven or eight Officers, and 150 Soldiers killed and wounded, together with the Engineer who commanded in the Works.

The Garrison capitulates.

So much Bravery in the Besiegers, and such an amazing Tempest of artificial Thunder and Lightning, astonished the Besieged to that Degree, that fearing a second Storm, the next Day, being the 14th, they beat a Parley about 3 o'Clock in the Afternoon, and at 6 the Hostages were exchanged: But the Conditions of Surrender were not produced till the next Morning, and then were so extravagant, that they were rejected, and others sent them by the Duke of *Marlborough*. All Things were agreed on the 15th, by 11 at Night; and presently one of the Gates of the City was opened for

for the Beſiegers to take Poſſeſſion of it. The Capitulation conſiſted of 11 Articles; of which the Chief were, That the Garriſon ſhould march out within two Days after ſigning the Capitulation, with their Arms and Baggage, and 4 Pieces of Cannon: That they ſhould be conducted to *Luxemborg* the ſhorteſt Way: That they ſhould not carry away any Gold or Silver, but what belonged to the Officers and Soldiers of the Garriſon: That all the Records and Archives belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* ſhould be reſtored to the Chapter: And that all the Priſoners taken on both Sides, during the Siege, ſhould be delivered without Ranſom.——By the Taking of *Bonne* the Navigation of the *Rhine* became free, *Rhinberg* having ſurrendered to the *Pruſſians* the *February* before. 1703

While the Duke of *Marlborough* was before *Bonne*, the two *French* Marſhals who commanded this Year in the *Netherlands*, *Bouffiers* and *Villeroy*, (thinking to have ſurpriſed the Confederates that lay diſperſed about *Maeſtricht*, to have bombarded the Town itſelf, and after that to have fallen upon *Liege*) on the 9th at Night, advanced of a ſudden into the Neighbourhood of *Tongeren*, with an Army of above 40,000 Men; *Boufflers* coming up with Part of theſe Forces on one Side of the Town, and *Villeroy* with the reſt on the other: So that the Confederates, who were marching to have poſted themſelves in that Place, were forced to retreat with all Speed under the Cannon of *Maeſtricht*. In the mean time, the Enemy fell upon *Tongeren*, where 2 Battalions of Foot, the one of *Elſt*, the other of *Portmore*, were quartered. They defended themſelves with extraordinary Bravery for 28 Hours; but then were conſtrained to ſurrender at Diſcretion.

Boufflers and Ville-roy attempt to ſurpriſe the Allies.

This vigorous Reſiſtance gave the Confederates an Opportunity to draw together before *Maeſtricht*. So that when the Enemy advanced forward, with a

1703 Design, as was supposed, to have forced the Confederate Cavalry to repass the *Maese* at *Nimeguen*, and the Foot to retire under the Out-works of *Maestricht*, (there to have plied them with their Bombs) they found, to their great Disappointment, the Confederate Army under General *Auverquerque* drawn up in Order of Battle, advantageously posted, and ready to engage them, tho' much superior in Number. This put the two Marshals to such a Stand, that they knew not what to do, and the Confederates might easily perceive how much they fluctuated in their Resolutions. They first appeared about 7 o'Clock in the Morning, in Order of Battle, upon the Hills near *Duysberg*, with the greatest Part of their Army; from whence, they made several insignificant Motions, seeming all to tend to the attacking of the Confederates Right Wing; which the latter observing, posted an *English* Brigade in the Hedges of *Lonaken*, to cover their Right Flank; and a Regiment of Dragoons was posted near the Church of *Lonaken*, to support 150 Foot planted in the Church-Yard, to defend the Pass from the Heath of *Bessmere*. And, indeed, wherever the Enemy seemed to bend their Strength, the Confederate Generals were careful to double their Opposition. But about 11 o'Clock the same Forenoon, the Enemy made a general Motion of all their Forces, sending down several Brigades of Foot, in two Columns, from between *Duysberg-Hills* and the Village of *Veltwessen*: From whence the Confederate Generals concluded, that they were marching directly towards them. But when they came within Reach of the Cannon, they made a Halt, both with their Brigades and the main Body of their Army; the Brigades stretching themselves out, their Right toward *Duysberg*, their Left toward *Veltwessen*, and their main Body upon the Hills of *Duysberg*, and behind *Veltwessen*. Thus both Armies stood gazing upon one another till 3 in the Afternoon, when the

Whom they find drawn up in Order of Battle.

And dare not attack them.

the two Marſhals, finding all their Motions to no Purpoſe, and not daring to attack the Confederates, marched back, the ſame Way they came, to *Tongeren*. 1703

Soon after, *Bonne* being taken, the Duke of *Marlborough* returned to the Army of the Confederates, which conſiſted of 130 Squadrons, and 59 Battalions, and ſet forward toward *Liege*, as well to ſecure that Place, as to force the Enemy to decamp from *Tongeren*. Their Army, conſiſting of above 60 Battalions, and 100 Squadrons, ſeemed to be very advantageouſly poſted. The Duke marched from *Hatch* near *Maeſtricht*, and having paſſed the River *Jecker*, advanced to *Hautin*, where the Enemy intended to have foraged that Morning; but, upon Notice of the Confederates approach, removed to ſome farther Diſtance, where they continued under their Arms that Night. Upon the Confederates advancing to *Nieudorp*, they marched with great Precipitation to *Bockworn*, not daring to ſtand the Hazard of a Battle. They alſo quitted *Tongeren*, after they had blown up the Walls and the Tower. The Duke followed them, and advanced within half a League of their Camp; but the *Jecker* parted the two Armies, and the Enemy had ſecured all the Bridges and Paſſes of the River. They thought themſelves not ſafe for all this, but retreated to *Hannuye*. Indeed, upon the Duke's advancing to *Thys* and *Lamin*, they drew up in Order of Battle, and ſent away their Baggage, as if they intended to have fought: But their Courage failed them; and this was the ſecond Time of their retiring, or rather flying before the Confederates.

Duke of Marlborough *ſtrives in vain to bring the* French *to a Battle.*

While the grand Army was in continual Motion, all People wondered whither the great Preparations tended that were making by M. *Coehorn*. As they were very conſiderable, they were thought the Prognoſticks of ſome more conſiderable Event.

1703 Nor was it long before the general Expectations were satisfied, upon the welcome News, that the Confederates had forced the Lines in the Country of *Waes*. In this Action General *Coehorn* commanded one Attack, in a Place called the *Hoeck van Callo*, where he met with little Resistance. At the same time, the Redoubt called *St. Anthony's Hoek*, was also attacked and taken, with the Loss only of 17 Men on the Confederates Side. At first the Enemy seemed resolved to have defended this Post; but perceiving that a Battery was raising against them, they surrendered at Discretion: And soon after General *Coehorn* became Master of another Fortification, called the *Pearl Fort*. But Baron *Spaar*, who commanded the other Attack, near the Village of *Stoken*, met with great Opposition from 8 Battalions of the Enemy's Foot, and 6000 of the Country People, who made a more vigourous Resistance than the disciplined Men, and by firing from the Houses of the Villages very much annoyed the Confederates after they were got into the Lines. This obliged Baron *Spaar* to order that no Quarter should be given them; so that a considerable Number of them were slain. In this Action the Loss on General *Coehorn*'s Side was inconsiderable; but out of Baron *Spaar*'s Detachment 1200 Men were slain and wounded, among whom were two Officers of Note.

The Lines forced in the County of Waes *by* M. de Coehorn.

The States alarmed by a Letter from M. Opdam.

Soon after, this universal Joy for such great Advantages was interrupted for a Time, by a strange Account sent by M. *Opdam* from *Breda*. "That "the *French* had surrounded the Body of "Forces under his Command, near a Place called "*Eckeren*, and put them to a total Rout; that he "had made his Escape to *Breda* with only 30 "Horse, and could give no farther Account of "their Lordships Army." This put all the *Hague* in a general Consternation. The States-General met immediately; and after they had set in Consultation till One in the Morning, dispatched away M. *Gel-*

M. *Geldermanſen*, and two Deputies more, with Money and Inſtructions, to prevent, as much as might be; the ill Conſequences of this ſuppoſed Diſorder. But theſe Commiſſioners in their Way met with a Courier from M. *Hop*, with a Letter to the States, wherein they received an Account quite contrary to that terrible News which they receivced from M. *Opdam*. It imported, that the Enemy, conſiſting of 25,000 Men, (whereas the *Dutch* were only 8000) had fallen upon and ſurrounded M. *Opdam*'s Army: that the Combat had been bloody, from 3 in the Afternoon till the Duſk of the Evening, with various Succeſs; but that at length the States Forces, by their Bravery, forced the Village of *Otteren*, kept the Field of Battle all Night, and continued their March the next Morning without any Moleſtation from the Enemy. Mean time, General *Coehorn* preſerved his Acquiſitions, and laid great Contributions upon Part of *Flanders*. As for the Loſs on both Sides in the Battle of *Eckeren*, that of the Confederates amounted to 2414 Men, and 376 Horſes, including the Dead, Wounded, and Priſoners; that of the Enemy was computed to be above 3000, and among them the Marquiſſes of *Weſterlo* and *Riſburg*, the Count of *Briſac*, and Colonel *Zuniga*; and among their Wounded, the Duke of *Nortemart*, the Baron of *Keris*, the Count of *Notaf*, Colonel *d, Valedſar*, the Chevalier *de Bournonville* the Marquis *de la Vere*, and M. *de Courville*: Five or ſix Lieutenant Colonels were ſlain, a great many Captains, and ſeveral inferior Officers. The Regiments of *Valenjar*, *Riſburg*, *Deinſe*, *Jacob*, and the Marquis of *Bedmar*'s Guards, were utterly broken and ſhattered.

1703

Which is ſoon contradicted.

Loſs in the Battle of Eckeren.

But notwithſtanding all theſe notorious Evidences, the *French* King, intoxicated with the Fancy of a Victory, or believing his Subjects had need of a Fit of Mirth, conſidering their Condition *The* French *King orders* Te Deum *tho' his Troops are worſted.*

1703 tion, wrote to the Cardinal *de Noailles*, to bid his Muſick ſtrike up, and give the People a *Te Deum*, that, like Swans, they might ſing in the gaſping Hours of their Tribulation. All this while he had very bad Luck with his glorious Victory: For inſtead of proſecuting their Blow, his Generals, with all the Flower of the Proweſs and Courage of *France*, lay dormant in their Trenches, not daring to anſwer the Challenges of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who offered them Battle every Day.

It may be conjectured that the Flight of General *Opdam* might be the Ground upon which the *French* built the Defeat of his Army: Nor indeed did that General mend the Matter, by a Letter he wrote to the States from *Lillo*. He acknowledged, that he made too haſty a Judgment upon the imminent Danger that all the Army was in; and that the Enemy preſſing on, with an irreſiſtable Superiority, within Piſtol-ſhot of the Place where he was preſent, and where no Succour could come to enable him to keep his Ground, was that which moved him to act in that Manner. He told them farther, that he had reaſſumed the Command of the Army, and that the Generals and other Officers made no Scruple to obey his Orders; yet, finding himſelf leſſened in the general Eſteem, and looked upon as unworthy to command the forces of the State, he begged Permiſſion of their Highneſſes Deputies to go to the *Hague* for a few Days, in order to clear himſelf before their High-Mightineſſes, from the Imputation he lay under. Accordingly he arrived at the *Hague* the 11th of *July*, and General *Slangenburgh*, who reſtored the Day, after his Retreat, had the Command of his Army. That General alſo received the Thanks of their High-Mightineſſes his Maſters.

Opdam *owns his Fault.*

All this while the Duke of *Marlborough* could come to no conſiderable Action. Marches and Coun-

Countermarches, and daily Conſultations which Way to bring the Enemy to an Engagement, was all that paſſed in his Army On the 27th of *July*, his Grace, and ſeveral other General Officers, went with a Guard of 4000 Horſe and Dragoons to view the Enemies Lines, and his Grace advanced as far as the Mill of *Graven Weſel*, whence he had a diſtant Proſpect of them on that Side. From thence he ſent 200 Dragoons with Orders to advance nearer, and get Intelligence; and of theſe an advanced Party, of about 30 *Engliſh*, commanded by Lieutenant *Benſon*, fell in with one of the Enemy's Out-guards of 40 Horſe, who after one Diſcharge retired, and were chaſed by the *Engliſh* to the very Barrier of their Lines; which gave the Confederate Generals an Opportunity to view them within Muſket-ſhot. 1703

Duke of Marlborough viewes *the Enemies Lines.*

On the 16th of *Auguſt*, a great Detachment of Huy *in-*
veſted.

the Grand Army, under the Duke of *Marlborough* came before *Huy*, a little City with 4 Churches, and a Caſtle, ſeated upon the River *Huy*, which runs through it, and from whence it derives its Name. Upon the Approach of the Confederates, the Governor broke down the Bridge between the two Towns, and retired into the Caſtle and Forts: Whereupon 2 Battalions were ſent to take Poſſeſſion of the neareſt Part of the Town. The two next Days, all Things being in a Readineſs, the Trenches were opened againſt the Forts; and about the ſame time, the Governor quitted the farthermoſt Town, and the Lord *Roſs* was ordered to take Poſſeſſion of it. The Garriſon likewiſe quitted the Forts of *Picart* and *St. Joſeph*, after they had, for ſome ſhort Time, been cannonaded from the Duke of *Marlborough's* Batteries. The Beſiegers took Poſſeſſion of them, as alſo of Fort *Rouge*, which is in a Manner commanded by the other two.

On the 23d, the Beſiegers began to play upon the Caſtle; and on the 25th, all things being in a Rea-

1703 Readineſs for a general Storm, the Batteries fired without Intermiſſion all that Afternoon, and ſeveral Ladders were fixed at the Foot of the Caſtle. Tho' this was but a Feint, yet the Beſieged, believing the Aſſailants in Earneſt, beat a Parley, and offered to ſurrender, upon Condition that the Garriſon ſhould be allowed to march to *Namur*, with the uſual Marks of Honour. Hereupon the Duke of *Marlborough* ſent a Meſſage to the Governor, declaring, That notwithſtanding the Advantages he had, if the Garriſon would lay down their Arms, all that belonged to the Officers and Soldiers ſhould be allowed them, and they ſhould be exchanged for a like Number of the Confederates Men, whenever the Marſhal *de Villeroy* ſhould deſire it. Which Propoſition being at firſt rejected, Orders were given for renewing the Aſſault. But the Soldiers refuſing to defend the Place any longer the Governor accepted the Terms offered him by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Garriſon, amounting to 900 Men, were made Priſoners of War. There was found in the Caſtle a conſiderable Quantity of Ammunition, and Proviſions ſufficient to have ſupplied the Garriſon for above a Fortnight longer. During the whole Siege, the Beſiegers had but 18 Men killed and 35 wounded, beſides ſome Officers. On the 27, in the Morning, the Garriſon marched out of the Citadel, and were all diſarmed, except the Officers, who, by the Courteſy of his Grace, were allowed to keep their Swords.—The Duke of *Marlborough*, ſeeing that nothing elſe could be done, reſolved to take as many Towns as poſſible this Campaign.

The Garriſon ſurrenders at Diſcretion.

Limburg *inveſted.*

Limburgh was inveſted on the 9th of *September*, by Lieutenant-General *Bulau*, with 24 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons. The next day the Foot arrived, and the Cannon and Ammunition being come to *Liege*, the Duke of *Marlborough* followed the next Morning, with the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe*, and a farther Detachment of 15 Squadrons,

and

and 24 Battalions. The 13th the Beſiegers marched to their ſeveral Poſts, and upon the 20th, the Artillery and other Neceſſaries being come up, a Lieutenant-Colonel, with 300 Men, was ordered to attack the lower Town; from whence the Defendants retired upon the firſt Aſſault, and the Beſiegers took Poſſeſſion of it They had this Advantage by their Acquiſition, that if the Enemy advanced near them, they could block up the Town with 5 Battalions, and meet the Enemy with the reſt of their Forces. On the 25th, the Beſiegers had finiſhed their Batteries, and began to play upon the Town with their Cannon, and 20 Mortars. They continued to do ſo all the next Day, with good Succeſs; and the Mortars played all Night, to diſturb the Garriſon. 1703

By the 27th the Breach was ſo wide, that the Beſiegers were preparing to give a general Aſſault the next Day, which the Enemy perceiving beat a Parley. But all the Conditions they could obtain were, that the Garriſon ſhould remain Priſoners of War: That the Officers and Soldiers might keep what was their own; and that the Officers ſhould be allowed twelve Waggons to carry their Baggage, provided they delivered up one of their Gates within half an Hour after this Agreement. This being done, and the Garriſon, conſiſting of 1400 Men, having marched out, the Beſiegers took Poſſeſſion of the Place. *The Garriſon made Priſoners of War alſo.*

By the Taking of this Town the Confederates not only became Maſters of the whole Dutchy of *Limburg*, but ſecured the Country of *Liege*, and the Electorate of *Cologn*, from the Incurſions of the *French*. Little or nothing more happened remarkable during this Campaign, except that the Duke ſtill did all in his Power to bring the French to a Battle, and they all in theirs to avoid it; and that his Grace would have attacked the Enemy's Lines between the *Mehaigne* and *Leucer*, and have made

1703 made an Attempt on *Antwerp*, but was prevented by the *Dutch* Deputies. Thus the Campaign ended, to the Glory and advantage of the Allies

The Treaty between the Confederates and the King of *Portugal* having been ſigned the 16th of *May*, and that Prince entering thereby into the Grand Alliance the Archduke *Charles* II, Son of the Emperor, was declared at *Vienna* King of *Spain* and the *Indies*, by Virtue of a Ceſſion made to him by the Emperor and the king of the *Romans*, of all their Rights and Pretenſions to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. A few Days after that Ceremony, he ſet out for *Holland*: But the Buſineſs of War for this Year being at an End, the Duke of *Marlborough* went to wait upon his Majeſty at *Duſſeldorp*, as he was coming to make Uſe of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Shipping. He was very kindly received by the young Monarch, and when he told him, that "He was juſt come from putting his "Majeſty in Poſſeſſion of *Limburg*;" the King ſaid, "He hoped to be much more indebted to "his Grace's Valour, in the reduction of other "Places and Territories to his Obedience;" and preſenting him with a Sword ſet with Diamonds, added: "My Lord, I need not be aſhamed to "confeſs myſelf a poor Prince; I have only my "Cloak and my Sword: The latter will be a uſe-"ful Preſent to your Excellency, and I hope you "will not think it the worſe for my wearing it "To-day"—"So far from it, *replied the Duke*, "that it ſhall always put me in Mind of your "Majeſty's juſt Right and Title, and of the Ob-"ligations I lie under, to hazard my Life, and "all that is dear to me, to make you the greateſt "Prince in Chriſtendom." The King had many other Diſcourſes with his Grace; and in particular repreſented to him the Misfortunes of the Empire, by the Defection of the Elector of *Bavaria*. His Grace then haſtened to the *Hague* where he convinced the States-General, that the Emperor ought

The Archduke Charles declared King of Spain.

Duke of Marlborough viſits him.

to

to be assisted with all Expedition. Thence he set out for *England*, to make the same Representation at the Court of his Mistress. 1703

His Catholic Majesty, being arrived in *Holland*, embarked the 23d of *December* for *England*, and arrived at *Spithead* the 26th in the Afternoon. He had all possible Honours paid to him, both from the Fleet and the Town. The next Day the Duke of *Somerset*, Master of the Horse, waited on his Majesty on Shipboard, with a Letter and a Compliment from the Queen, acquainting him, That she was to come to *Windsor*, in order to receive the Visit that his Majesty had desired to make to her. The next Night he lay at *Petworth*, whither his Royal Highness the Prince of *Denmark* came to meet him. The 29th, about seven in the Evening, he arrived at *Windsor*, and was lighted by the Noblemen in waiting to the Stair-head where the Queen received him. He supped that Night with her Majesty, who gave him the Right Hand at Table, which he with great Difficulty admitted. The Queen presented several Ladies of the first Quality to his Majesty, who saluted them with a Kiss. The next Day, having Notice that the Queen was coming to make him a Visit, his Majesty met her at her Drawing Room Door, endeavouring to have prevented her; but her Majesty went on to his Apartment, from whence he led her to Dinner. The Afternoon was spent in Entertainments of Musick, and other Diversions. *K.* Charles *arrives in* England.

The Merchants trading in the Dominions of *Spain*, attended his Catholick Majesty this Day at *Windsor*, being introduced by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and delivered him a Compliment in the *Spanish* Tongue. The King received those Gentlemen very favourably, and was pleased, in a most obliging Manner, to assure them of his Favour and Protection, paying them the highest Compliment that the *Spanish* Language admits in their Sovereign. *Is addressed by the Spanish Merchants.*

Supper

1703 Supper being over, he led her Majesty to her Bed-Chamber; where, after some Stay, he took his Leave of her, resolving to dapart the next Morning. He went according, and his Royal Highness attended him to the Coach-side, the King not suffering him to go any further by reason of his Indisposition.

Having thus left *Windsor* the 31st, accompanied again by the Duke of *Somerset*, (who was commanded by her Majesty to attend him) and by other Persons of Quality, his Majesty lay that Night at *Petworth*, the Seat of his Grace, and ar-
1704 rived the 1st of *January* at *Portsmouth*. He was received at the Town-Gates by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Corporation, in their Formalities, who attended him to the Waterside, the Streets being full of Illuminations; and at his going-off the Artillery was discharged. His Majesty immediately went on Board the *Royal Catherine* at *Spithead*, extreamly well satisfied with his Reception at *Windsor*, and with the Honours paid him by the Fleet, and in the several Towns through which he passed. He came ashore the 3d, *incognito*, to see the Dock, and honoured Admiral *Callenberg* with a Visit. The 5th, about 4 in the Afternoon, Sir *George Rook* with the whole Fleet sailed from *Spithead* for *Lisbon*: But were driven back again to *Portsmouth*, and continued there some time.

He goes on board the Fleet for Spain,

The States General desire the Duke of Marlborough's *Presence.*

The States-General, having by their Envoy Extraordinary at *London* represented to the Queen, that the Coming of the Duke of *Marlborough* to the *Hague* might be of great Advantage to the Common Cause, by concerting there with them the Measures proper to be taken in that Juncture; and therefore praying her Majesty to give his Grace leave to pass the Sea for a few Days; her Majesty was pleased to direct his Grace to go accordingly to the *Hague* for that Purpose, and after a short Stay to return. In pursuance whereof, he arrived there about the Middle of *January*, and immediately

diately the States appointed ſome of their Depu- 1704
ties to confer with him. In theſe Conferences,
they concerted proper Meaſures to inſiſt with the *The Points*
Princes of the Empire, that every one ſhould ſend *he concert-*
betimes their Contingent of Troops to make up *ed with*
the Imperial Army. The Inſurrection in *Hungary*, *the States*
which had prevented the Emperor from ſending *Deputies.*
his own Quota, was another Point debated, and
the wiſe Reſolutions taken thereupon ſoon ap-
peared in a moſt viſible Manner. The Court of
Vienna, abating of its unſeaſonable high Carriage,
ſeemed diſpoſed to follow the Advices of their
beſt Friends, and to hearken to an Accommoda-
tion with the Malcontents. The Princes of the
Empire, awakened by the imminent Danger that
threatned them, and encouraged by the Exhorta-
tions and Example of *England* and *Holland*, and
by the Condeſcenſions of the Imperial Court, re-
ſolved to make new Efforts for the Defence of
their Country. The King of *Pruſſia*, in a particu-
lar Manner, expreſſed his Zeal for the Empire, in
ſending a freſh Body of near 10,000 Men againſt
the *French* and *Bavarians*. The Elector of *Hano-*
ver and the Duke of Zell likewiſe promiſed, not
only to ſend the Troops for their Quota, but to
add 3000 Men more at their own Charge. Pur-
ſuant to theſe vigorous Reſolutions, the *Dutch*
Troops advanced towards *Liege* and other Places
on that ſide, to be ready to oppoſe the Repairing
of the *French* Lines, which had been demoliſhed
during the Winter by Count *Noyelles*. Mean time
the Duke of *Marlborough* returned to *England*
about the Middle of *February*, with the ſame
Wind that carried Sir *George Rook* and his Royal
Convoy towards *Spain*.

Before I proceed to the Campaign of 1704, the
moſt glorious one during the whole War, I muſt
take a ſhort Review of paſt Tranſactions, in order
to give ſome Idea of the Situation of the Confede-
rate Powers, and in particular of the Empire. It
muſt

1704 must be obſerved then, that tho' the *French* in 1703 durſt not make head againſt the Duke of *Marlborough*, they had other Succeſſes elſewhere.

Recapitulation. The Taking of *Kayſerſwaert*, *Venlo*, *Roermande*, *Liege* and *Landau*, and ſeveral other Advantages by Sea and Land, in the firſt Campaign of the War, gave a reaſonable Proſpect to conceive great Hopes of the ſecond; and had the Empire made good their great Promiſes, the Succeſs would ſcarce have fallen ſhort of Expectation: But by the Neglect of that conſiderable Member of the Grand Alliance, the whole Confederacy was diſappointed, and the Enemies had ſome Cauſe to triumph. The *Germans*, it ſeems, had a wrong Notion of the Power of *France*, and the Genius of her Court; and it was no ſmall Surprize to them, to ſee thoſe very Enemies, who were on the Defenſive in the firſt Campaign, augmenting their Forces, and acting offenſively in the next; taking Towns, and gaining Victories.

Advantages of the French from the Elector of Bavaria's Revolt. The Declaration of the Elector of *Bavaria*, againſt the common Intereſt of the Empire, was ſo advantageous to them, and they knew ſo well the Conſequences of it, that they reſolved to leave nothing unattempted to reinforce that Prince, before the dilatory *Germans* could come together to reduce him. In order thereto, Marſhal *Villars* had, towards the latter end of the preceding Year, paſſed the *Rhine*, and made all poſſible Efforts to force his Way through the *Black Foreſt*: But the vigorous Reſiſtance of the *Germans*, and the Precautions of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, diſappointed the Deſigns of the *French*, who where obliged to ſend their Troops into Winter-Quarters without reinforcing the *Bavarians*; notwithſtanding they boaſted, after the Battle of *Fridlingen*, that nothing could ſtop their March.

The vigorous Reſolutions of the Diet of *Ratiſbon*, in Favour of the Common Cauſe, againſt *France* and the Elector of *Bavaria*, made the

French

French very uneasy; and, lest the Effects should answer the Menaces of the Diet, they resolved early in the Spring, or rather in the Winter, to prevent the *Germans*, and to open a way of Communication with the *Bavarians*. They attacked, in the Beginning of *March*, the important Fortress of *Kehl*, which surrendered 10 or 12 Days after the Opening of the Trenches. That Place being thus taken, and all the Forts and lines along the River *Kintshe* abondoned by the *Germans*, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* drew all his Forces into the Lines of *Stolhoffen*, wherein he was attacked in *April* by M. *de Villars*, with such an Army, that, without the timely Succours of 15 *Dutch* Battalions, under the Command of Major-General *Goor*, those Lines would have been forced, and the whole Empire exposed to the *French*; as Prince *Lewis* owned himself in a Letter to the States. The *French*, being repulsed with Loss in that Attack, turned back on a sudden towards *Offenburgh*, and, without any Opposition, marched through Passes and Defiles, which were thought impracticable, towards the *Danube*, where they joined the Elector of *Bavaria*. This Success of the *French* obliged Prince *Lewis* to weaken his Forces on the *Rhine*, to cover *Franconia* and *Suabia*, lest those two Circles should be persuaded to embrace the Neutrality offered them by *France*,

Progress of the French in Germany many in 1703.

Prince *Lewis* had all the Time he could desire to effect his design; for the *French* and *Bavarians* had another Project of more Importance in view, which obliged them to divide their Forces. This new Project was to open a Communication between their Army on the *Danube* and the *French* Forces in *Italy*, which would have proved the Ruin of the whole Empire. Accordingly the Elector of *Bavaria* marched into the Country of *Tirol*, where he took in a few Days so many important Posts, that had the Duke of *Vendome* marched into the Country of *Trent* at the same Time,

They attempt to open a Communication with their Army in Italy.

1704 Time, it is very likely his Electoral Highneſs would have ſucceeded in that great Enterprize. What retarded the March of the Duke of *Vendome*, was the Difficulty of the Undertaking, which he expoſtulated for ſome Time with his Court. Theſe Delays in all human Probability, where the means of ſaving the Empire: For ſome few Imperial Troops, with the brave Boors of *Tirol*, had Time to draw together againſt the *Bavarians*, whom they defeated in ſeveral Rencounters and at laſt beat out of their Country, re-taking all the Poſts they had taken, except *Kuffſtein*. They then marched againſt the *French*, who had already advanced to *Trent*, and obliged them likewiſe to retire. The Biſhop of *Brixen* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this Occaſion.

The Elector of *Bavaria* having rejoined the *French*, who continued all this while entrenched near *Dillingen*, between *Ulm* and *Donawert*, parted once more from them; and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* having Notice of his Deſign to ſeize *Augſburg*, notwithſtanding an Agreement of Neutrality concluded for that City, his Highneſs divided likewiſe his Forces, marching with all poſſible Speed to cover the Place, where he arrived juſt as the Vanguard of the *Bavarians* appeared in Sight. This happy Succeſs of Prince *Lewis* put him upon a Deſign of greater Conſequence; the Execution of which would at once cut off all Communication between the Enemy and the Country of *Bavaria*: But the Elector and Marſhal *Villars* having timely Notice of the March of Count *Stirum* towards *Donawert*, quitted the Banks of the River *Lech*, with the utmoſt Secrecy, and marched with ſo much Diligence, that Count *Stirum* found himſelf on a ſudden attacked in Front by the main Army, and in the Rear by the Marquis *Duſſon*, who came out of his Entrenchments at *Dillingen*. That Action happened near *Hockſtedt*, and proved very unfortunate to the *Germans*, tho' they did not

Count Stirum *defeated.*

looſe

lose a great Number of Men; for the Loss of their Cannon and Baggage rendered that Body, in a manner, unserviceable during the rest of the Campaign. 1704

This Disgrace, and the taking af *Brisac*, which was surrendered to the Duke of *Burgundy*, disappointed the Projects of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, whose Forces being divided, did nothing at all; while, on the other hand, the *French* improved that favourable Opportunity; and, to conclude their Campaign, took the Fortress of *Landau*, notwithstanding the brave Defence of the Governor, and obtained a Victory over the Army sent to relieve the Place *Kempton* and *Augsburg* had the same Fate, and the Empire was never in such Danger. The Delays and unseasonable Disputes of its Members, were the Occasion of so many Disgraces to the Common Cause, and furnished Matter for all these Advantages to the Enemy. In a Word, the Queen of *England* and the States General were the only Powers engaged in the Confederacy, that answered by real Effects their Treaties and Engagements. Their Forces alone acted the offensive Part, tho' they were weakened by 15 Battalions sent to the Assistance of the Empire.

The French take several Places.

The Confederates, upon Application made from his Imperial Majesty, bent all their Thoughts on reducing the Elector of *Bavaria*; and their Measures were so wisely concerted, kept with so much Secrecy, and so vigorously executed, that History cannot afford the like Instance. The Duke of *Marlborough* being arrived in *Holland*, and all Things ripe for that great Design, the *English* Forces began to move towards *Coblentz*. This did not surprize the *French*, who, by the Preparations made in that Place, thought the Allies designed to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Traerbach*, and endeavour to advance towards *France* along the *Moselle*. Upon this Supposition they took convenient Measures to stop their Pro-

The Duke of Marlborough marches to relieve the Empire.

1703 greſs; but were at a Loſs when they ſaw the Duke of *Marlborough* advancing towards the *Neckar*. This made them very uneaſy; yet they carried their Thoughts no farther than the Banks of the *Rhine*, and believed that his Grace would either attack *Landau*, or march towards *Stratſburg*, to oblige the *French* to recal their Forces from *Bavaria*; while Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with the Imperial Forces, ſhould reduce the Elector, who had lately received a great Reinforcement from *France*, notwithſtanding the many Endeavours of Prince *Lewis* to cut off his Communication with the *French*, or hinder his Retreat from *Donau Schingen* to *Ulm*. This was ſo confidently believed at *Paris*, that they owned no Words could expreſs their Surprize, upon Advice, that the Duke of *Marlborough* had on a ſudden directed his March towards the *Danube*. Marſhal *Villeroy* was then ordered to repair with all poſſible Speed to the *Rhine*, and Marſhal *Tallard* to paſs the *Black-Foreſt*, to reinforce the Elector of *Bavaria*.

The Duke of *Marlborough* paſſed the *Neckar* the 4th of *June*, and, having reſted 2 or 3 Days, advanced with all imaginable Diligence for *Suabia*. He repaſſed the *Neckar* at *Lauffen*, and encamped at *Monderſeim*, where Prince *Eugene* came the 10th to confer with him. The 11th, the Army marched to *Great Heppach*, where Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* arrived two Days after. The three Generals had a long Conference together, wherein they concerted the Operations of the Campaign. It was agreed, that Prince *Eugene* ſhould command on the *Rhine*, to obſerve the Marſhals *Villeroy* and *Tallard*, to defend the Paſſage of the River, and cover the Lines of *Stolhoffen* and the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, while the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Lewis* ſhould advance towards *Donawaert*, to ſeize that important Poſt on the *Danube*, and act againſt the Elector of *Bavaria*: That the Imperial and *Engliſh* Forces ſhould join; and that, during

Has a Conference with the Princes Lewis *and* Eugene.

during their Conjunction, the Prince and the Duke should alternately give the Word, and command the whole Army. Accordingly Prince *Eugene* set out the 14th for *Philipsburg*, Prince *Lewis* for his Army, and the Duke advanced to *Ebersbach*. The 16th, his Grace advanced to *Gros Seinssen*, where he continued 4 Days. The 21st he decamped from *Seinssen*, and being joined in his March by the Forces of *Holland*, *Lunenberg*, and *Hesse-Cassel*, encamped about *Laumsheim*, and the next Day joined Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* at *Westersteten*. His Grace, in this long March, had Interviews with the Electors of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and other Potentates, and, in a Word, led his Army above 60 *German* Leagues, from the *Maese* to the *Danube*, in 30 Days. 1704

The Prince of *Baden* told his Grace, " That " he was come to save the Empire, and give him " an Opportunity to vindicate his Honour, which " he was sensible, with many People, was in some " Measure at the last Stake;" alluding to the Reflections then passed upon him, for letting the *French* join the Elector of *Bavaria*, when he had not Force enough to oppose them. To which the Duke replied, " That he came to learn from him " how to do the Empire Service; for they must " want Judgment who did not know that the " Prince of *Baden* had not only, when his Health " would permit him, preserved the Empire, but " extended its Conquests." After this, Prince *Eugene* came to pay his Grace a Visit, and, being present at a Review of the Duke's Army, which made the best Appearance that could be, he told the Duke, " My Lord, I never saw better Horses " better Clothes, finer Belts and Accoutrements; " yet all these may be had for Money: But there " is a Spirit in the Looks of your Men, which " surpasses all these, and cannot be purchased. " The like to this, I must own with Surprize, I " never saw in my Life." To which his Grace

Civilities that passed between his Grace and the two Princes.

1704 replied, " Sir, if it be as you ſay, that Spirit is " breathed into them by your Highneſs's Preſence." It was by means of Prince *Eugene* that his Grace obtained, for the Honour of himſelf and Nation, that Rank above-mentioned, which equalled him to the firſt General in *Chriſtendom*; to command alternately with the two Princes, and that in the Heart of the Imperial Territories, where always till then, the Generals of the Empire held the precedence.

The Bavarians *entrenched at* Schellenberg.

The * Elector of *Bavaria* judging by the March of the Allies, that the Generals of the Confederate Army intended to attack *Donawert*, made a Detachment of his beſt Troops to reinforce Count *d'Arco*, poſted near that Place at *Schellenberg*, where he had caſt up great Entrenchments, and had ſome Thouſand of Pioneers employed for ſeveral Days to perfect thoſe Works, which covered *Donawert*: But notwithſtanding this, and the Number of Troops which defended them, the Duke of *Marlborough* reſolved to attack the Enemy, and the neceſſary Orders were given to the Army.

The Duke of Marlborough *advances to attack 'em.*

The 2d of *July* his Grace advanced accordingly at three in the Morning, with a Detachment of 600 Foot and 30 Squadrons of *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, beſides 3 Battalions of Imperial Grenadiers; and the reſt of the Army followed with all poſſible Diligents. But the Way being very bad and long, that Detachment could not come to the River *Wernitz*, which runs by *Donawert*, till about Noon, and it was 3 o'Clock before it could get over that River with the Artillery. The Duke having paſſed it at the Head of the Cavalry, viewed the Entrenchments, and made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for the Attack.

Count

* Narrative of the Battle of *Schellenberg* publiſhed by the Allies, and the Count *d' Arco*'s Letter to the Elector his Maſter.

Count *d'Arco* had not the leaſt Notice of the Allies Approach, till they were diſcovered from a neighbouring Hill, marching, as he thought, to *Donawert*. This made him forward his Entrenchment, which was yet unfiniſhed, with great Diligence, till about four in the Afternoon the Allies were come ſo near, that he perceived they deſigned an Attack: Upon which he drew up his Men in Order of Battle; placing 14 Battalions in the Front and of the 1ſt and 2d Lines, and 4 *French* Regiments and 6 Battalions on the Right and Left. The Horſe and Dragoons he poſted on the Right, becauſe that was the beſt Ground. 1704 *Count d' Arco prepares to receive him.*

In the mean time the Artillery of the Allies began to thunder againſt the Enemy, who anſwered briſkly from their Batteries, and gave room, by their Diſpoſitions, to judge that the Action would be very hot. Theſe Preparations being over, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* began the Attack, with an unparallelled Intrepidity, before the Imperialiſt came up, and met with a vigorous Defence. They advanced in 6 Columns, ſupported by many Squadrons of Horſe in the Rear, beſides other extending to the Hill. They marched firſt to the Wood on the Right, thinking to break through there, and then to attack the Entrenchments on all Sides; but finding it impracticable, they marched again to the Corner of the Line in view of the City, and there fell on with a great Fire from the *Engliſh* Battalions, and abundance of Cannon on the Right. *Battle of Schellenberg.*

The *Bavarian* Troops were poſted in the Mouth of the Attack, and, after their Fire, fell twice upon the Allies with their Bayonets in their Peices, and made great Slaughter. In a Word, the Aſſailants found ſuch gallant Reſiſtance, that moſt of their firſt Ranks were killed, but ſpeedily ſupplied by others. The Fire encreaſed on both Sides, and the *Dutch* Battalions were often repulſed, and many of them killed by the great Fire from the

1704 Trenches. Count *d'Arco*, in great Hopes of Victory, ſent 3 *French* Battalions, and one *Bavarian* to the Town, with Orders to the Commanding Officer there to poſt them in the Covert-way, where it joined the Entrenchment, from whence they might have made ſuch a Fire, as would have well enough covered them on the Left: But the Duke being aware of this, broke furiouſly into the Entrenchments ſo that Count *d'Arco* came thither too late with two Squadrons of Dragoons. The Count thought there was nothing then left him to do but to think of retiring, to prevent his being encompaſſed. Thus, after an Engagement of about an Hour and an half, when the Imperialiſts arrived the Entrenchments were entered, and the Confederates made a terrible Slaughter of the Enemy. Lieutenant-General *Coor*, who commanded the firſt Detachment of Foot, was killed, as was alſo Major-General *Bienheim*; both in the *Dutch* Service, and both very much lamented. The Horſe and Dragoons ſhared the Glory of the Day with the Infantry. The firſt Detachment of them was commanded by Lieutenant-General *Lumley* and Lieutenant-General *Hompeſch*. All the Confederate Troops that engaged behaved themſelves with a great deal of Bravery: But as the Attack was begun by a Battalion of the *Engliſh* Foot Guards, and the Regiments of *Orkney*, and *Ingoldſby*, it muſt be ſuppoſed that they ſuffered more than any others; and that of *Orkney*, in particular, was exceedingly ſhattered,

The Bavarians *beaten.*

Number of the Enemy.

The Forces of the Enemy conſiſted of 2 Battalions of the Elector's Guards, 1 of Grenadiers, 13 other *Bavarian* Battalions, 5 *French*, 4 Regiments of Cuiraſſiers, and 3 Squadrons of Dragoons, making 32,000 Men, all choice Troops, commanded in Chief by Coun *d'Arco*, and under him by three *Bavarian* and two *French* Lieutenant-Generals.

As ſoon as the Allies had poſſeſſed the Entrenments, the greateſt Part of the Enemy ran away to *Donawert* and the *Danube*: But being cloſely purſued by the Confederate Horſe and Dragoons, the greateſt Part followed the Example of their Generals, who flung themſelves into that River, and ſwam over. The Reaſon was, that the Bridge to their great Mortification, broke down under the Croud, and the Gate was kept ſhut by the Governor's Commands a long Time, tho' Count *d'Arco* deſired it might be opened, and ſent him Notice that he was on the Left with the retiring Troops. A Regiment of Dragoons coming thither on Foot, made a brave Reſiſtance, and kept the Allies off for ſome Time. Thoſe on the Right, being too far from the Town, and knowing the Bridge was broke, retired towards the Wood of *Newburg*. 1704

The Fugitives ſwim over the Danube.

The Allies took 16 Pieces of Cannon, and 13 Colours or Standards. The Duke of *Marlborough* gained great Honour in this Action; having given his Orders with an extraordinary Preſence of Mind, and expoſed his Perſon to the greateſt Danger. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who likewiſe performed the Part of a brave and experienced General, was wounded: as was alſo the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, who gave ſignal Proofs of his Courage on this Occaſion. Count *Stirum* was dangerouſly wounded: General *Thungen*, Count *Horn*, Major-General *Wood*, Major-General *Palland*, and ſeveral other Officers of Notes were alſo wounded.

The Duke of Marlborough gains great Honour.

Next Morning the Duke took Poſſeſſion of *Donawert*, which the *Bavarian* Garriſon quitted upon his Approach: But they had not time to deſtroy their Ammunitions and Proviſions, as they were ordered to do, and had then filled the Houſes with Straw to burn the Place.

He takes Poſſeſſion of Donawert

The Confederate Army, having reſted ſome Days near *Donawert*, paſſed the *Danube*, and afterwards

1702 terwards the *Lech*; the Elector of *Bavaria* not thinking fit to oppose their Passage, and retiring to *Augsburg*, where he entrenched himself. The Allies

Rain taken. besieged and took *Rain*, a Fortress in *Bavaria*, and the Enemy quitted *Newburg* on the *Danube*. The Confederate Army advanced afterwards directly to *Augsburg*, and forced the Enemy to quit *Freidberg* near that Place. Mean time there were

Overtures of Peace. some Overtures made toward a Peace, between the Emperor and the Elector of *Bavaria*, and Count *Wratislau* was sent to confer with the latter: But when the Treaty was ready to be signed, it was found that his Electoral Highness, who valued himself so much upon his Honour, had not scrupled to stoop to an ignoble Dissimulation; For he then declared, That he had Advice, that the Marshal *de Tallard* was coming to his Assistance, and that his Honour could not permit him to hearken to a separate Treaty, as long as the *French* King made such Efforts to support him. Hereupon the Negotiations broke up, and the Elector haughtily said, "He had rather be a private Dragoon in *France*, than a chief General in the "Emperor's Service."

The Expectation of that Prince, however, was not groundless: For the Marshal *de Tallard* having raised the Siege of *Villingen*, before which Place he had lost 6 or 700 Men, marched directly towards *Ulm*, and met with no manner of Opposition. He went from thence to the Camp of the Elector near *Augsburg*, and concerted with him the Conjunction of their Forces.

Bavaria ravaged. The Allies having judged it impracticable to attack the *Bavarians* in their Entrenchment, and despairing of any Accommodation, sent out a strong Body of Horse, who destroyed the Country between *Augsburg* and *Munich*, with Fire and Sword, and brought away what Cattle and other Things they could take. This was done in order to deprive the Enemy of all Means of Subsistence

on

on that Side, and to oblige them to quit their Camp. The Elector complained loudly of this Severity, and wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough* thereupon: But received an Anſwer little to his Satisfaction. 1704

That Expedition being over, the Confederates held a great Council of War, wherein it was reſolved to return towards the *Danube*, and beſiege *Ingoldſtadt*. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* undertook to command the Siege, and the Duke of *Marlborough* to cover it: And Prince *Eugene*, who had followed the Marſhal *de Tallard*, and was encamped near *Donawert*, was to join the Duke in caſe of Need. The Army decamped accordingly from *Friedberg* towards *Aiche*.

About this Time his Grace received a Letter of Thanks, writ in *Latin*, in the Emperor's own Hands; an Honour ſeldom done to any below a Sovereign Prince In this Piece his Imperial Majeſty expreſſes himſelf thus: "Nothing can be "more glorious than what you have done, in the "Conjunction of your Army with mine, in the "moſt ſpeedy and vigorous Attack, and forcing "of the Enemies Camp near *Donawert*, on the "2d of this Month; ſince my Generals themſelves "and Miniſters declare, that the Succeſs of that En- "terpriſe (which is more acceptable and advanta- "geous to me at this preſent time, than almoſt any "Thing elſe that could befal me) is chiefly owing "to your Counſel, Prudence and Diſpatch, "and the wonderful Bravery and Conſtancy of the "Troops that fought under your Command, ---- "That you carry on, with the ſame Alacrity and "Induſtry, what you have ſo valiantly and vic- "toriouſly begun; and that, in Conjunction with "the Prince of *Baden* my Lieutenant-General, "and other Commanders of my Troops, you uſe "your utmoſt Endeavours and Force, that the "End may anſwer this Beginning; and that the "War which the *Bavarian* hath ſeditiouſly raiſed

The Emperor's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough on the Victory of Schellenberg.

1704 " in the Bowels of *Germany*, may be brought to a " ſpeedy Concluſion, is not what I do ſo much " exhort you to, as I aſſuredly expect."

P. Eugene *Army in Danger.*

Prince *Eugene* had all this while a difficult Taſk to perform. The *Palatine* Troops poſted in the Lines, and along the *Rhine*, were reinforced with 10,000 *Pruſſians* detached from the Imperial Army, and Part of the Troops of the Circle of *Weſtphalia*; but were not yet ſtrong enough to oppoſe the *French*: For Marſhal *Villeroy* being arrived at *Landau*, with the Troops from the *Netherlands*, the Enemy threatened to paſs the *Rhine* below *Philipſburg*, and attack the Lines of *Stolhofen* They made great Preparations to that Effect; but the Duke of *Marlborough* having ordered the *Daniſh* Infantry, in the Service of *England* and *Holland*, which was to join him, to reinforce Prince *Eugene*, his Highneſs took ſuch Precautions, by erecting Batteries in convenient Places, and caſting up new Entrenchments, that the Enemy did not think fit to attempt the Paſſage in that Part; and therefore Marſhal *Tallard* marched back with a good Army towards *Straſburg*, and, having there paſſed the *Rhine*, advanced towards the *Black Foreſt*, to ſuccour the Elector of *Bavaria*. Prince *Eugene*, having ſent Notice thereof to the Duke of *Marlborough*, made ſeveral Preparations, in order to paſs the *Rhine*, and attack the Marſhal *Villeroy*. In the mean time, the Elector and M. *de Tallard* actually joined, paſſed the *Danube*, and marched towards *Donawert*, in hopes to ſurpriſe his Highneſs, who was advanced that Way, retake that Place, and then invade the Country of *Wirtemberg*, to oblige the Allies to quit *Bavaria*. The Succeſs they had, much about the ſame Ground, the Year before, over Count *Stirum*, was no Preſage of another Victory: For they found *Eugene* on his Guard, and the Duke of *Marlborough* ſo active and diligent, that his Grace and his Highneſs were joined, and actually marching to fight

the

he Enemy, before, or at the very ſame Time hat they had Advice of their Conjunction. This occaſioned the memorable Battle of *Blenheim*, or *Hockſtedt*, which the laſt Century, ſo famous for bloody Tragedies, cannot parallel. But this great Action, and the Motions that preceded it, deſerve a more particular Detail. 1704

His *Grace having continued about *Rain*, to watch the Motions of the *French*, on the 10th of *Auguſt* he was informed, by Prince *Eugene* that the *French* and *Bavarians* were paſſing the *Danube* at *Lawingen*; whereupon his Grace ſent a Detachment, under the Command of General *Churchill*, with Orders to paſs the *Danube*, and join his Serene Highneſs. And on the 11th, at Three in the Morning, the Confederate Army marched and joined that Prince at *Munſter*, where the two Armies continued till the 12th, expecting their Artillery, which could not come up with the ſame Expedition as the Troops.

Junction of the D. of Marlborough and PEugene

The ſame Day his Grace and Prince *Eugene*, with moſt of the Generals, advanced under a Guard of 40 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons to view the Camp at *Hockſtedt*, in order to ſeize it, but they found it already poſſeſſed by the Enemy, and of very difficult Acceſs. The *French* could not believe the Allies would attack them here; and therefore, the next Morning, made a general Forage. They were poſted on a Riſing Ground having a River and a Moraſs before them; and beſides it appeared afterwards, that they were ſuperior in Number.

They reconnoitre the Enemy.

The Difficulties they had to encounter did not diſcourage the Generals of the Confederate Army, who having reſolved to attack them the next Morning,

March to attack them.

* This account is extracted from the Journal of the Allies, and a Letter writ to M. *Chamillard* by a *French* General Officer. See more of the *French* Account in the Hiſtory of Prince *Eugene*.

1704 ing, the whole Army marched the 13th, by Break of Day, in 8 Columns, and about 7 appeared before the Camp of the Enemy. The Imperialists, *Prussians*, and *Danes* were posted on the Right, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*; and the *English*, *Dutch*, *Hessians*, *Lunenburghers*, and other Troops in the Service of *England* and *Holland*, made up the Left Wing of the Confederate Army, under their respective Generals. The Duke had the General Command over the Whole.

The Enemy alarmed form themselves in Haste.

The Enemy was very much surprised at the Approach of the Allies, and fired two Guns as a Signal for their Foragers to return, which they did with Precipitation; and this occasioned a great Confusion in their Camp. They formed themselves, however, with all the Expedition they could. Their Right reached to the *Danube*, having the Village of *Blenheim* in Front, where was M. *de Tallard*'s Quarter, and the Village of *Lutzingen* to the Left, where was the Elector's Quarter. All the first Line of M. *de Tallard*'s Foot had its Right to the *Danube*, that it might be at Hand to be posted in the Village of *Blenheim*, which was before it. That first Line was of 19 Battalions. Next was the first Line of Horse, on the Left, extending towards the Horse of M. *Marsin*; the rest of whose Army reached as far as the Hill of *Lutzingen*. The second Line was drawn up as usual, with the Infantry in the Center. In the Centre of both Armies there was a Hill, which commanded all the Plain, and whose Declivity reached as far as the Rivulet that ran along the Front of their Camp.

Mean time, his Grace, having given the necessary Directions for the Attack, the Imperialists marched along a Wood near *Volpersteten*, and 16 Battalions of the Left advanced at the same time towards *Blenheim*; the Generals of the Confederates designing, by that Motion, to attack the Enemy in the Flank on both Sides. But as soon

as they were ſenſible of it, they ſet on Fire the Villages of *Volperſteten* and *Anterheim*, and alſo the Mills and ſome Houſes of *Blenheim*, and made a great Fire from their Batteries, even before the Forces of the Confederates appeared on the Riſing Ground near the Moraſs. The Artillery of the Allies was brought to bear at that Time, and by Favour of its Fire the Foot forded the River, and Bridges were made for the Horſe. The *French* committed a fatal Error in ſuffering the Allies to paſs the Brook unmoleſted, and this Fault was laid to the Charge of Marſhal *Tallard*. That General when in *England*, told a Friend of the Author's, that he ſaw, before the Battle, from the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Diſpoſitions, that he had to deal with his Maſter in the Art of War. 1704

They burn ſome Villages and Mills.

The Cannonading began between 8 and 9 in the Morning, and continued till 1 in the After-noon; during which Time the Foot of the Left advanced to *Blenheim*, to beat the Enemy from that Poſt, wherein they had caſt up an Entrenchment with Paliſades, and poſted 27 Battalions, ſupported by 12 Squadrons of Dragoons. They made a ſtout Reſiſtance, which obliged the Duke to order the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe Caſſel*, who commanded the whole Body of the Cavalry on the Left, to paſs the Moraſs, to cut off the Enemy poſted at *Blenheim* from the reſt of their Forces. The Paſſage being very difficult, the Enemy repulſed the firſt Squadrons of the Confederates with a great Deal of Fury. But the Prince advancing with the reſt, fell upon the *French* Gendarms and light Horſe with an unparalled Vigour, and after 4 Charges put them altogether to the Rout. The Enemy cauſed 3 Battalions to advance, who, forming themſelves into one, attempted to ſtop the Cavalry of the Allies; but were all cut in Piece.

The Village of that Name attacked.

The Right Wing of the Enemy routed.

Things

1704

*M*deMarsin *unable to assist* Tallard.

Things being in this Condition, M. *de Tallard* considered that it was high Time to draw off the Dragoons and Infantry out of the Village of *Blenheim*, and resolved upon it, exhorting his Cavalry to stand their Ground. He sent a trusty Person to M. *de Marsin*, to desire him to face the Enemy with some Troops on the Right of his Village, and keep them in Play, to favour the Retreat of the Infantry: But M. *de Marsin* represented to the Messenger, that he had too much Business in the Front of his Village, and the Rest of the Line, to spare any Troops; he not being victorious, but only maintaining his Ground. During this Discourse, the *French* Horse had again faced the Allies; but on a sudden they were ordered to wheel about, which was done with all the Disorder that can be imagined. In short, this was so precipitate a Flight, that Part of the Cavalry, and all the *Gendarms*, having turned suddenly towards the *Danube*, into a narrow Nook, which formed a Demi-island, they found themselves cut off from the rest of the Army, which forced Multitudes of brave Men to throw themselves into the River, where they perished. M. *de Tallard*, fearing the same Fate, surrendered to the Adjutant of the Prince of *Hesse*.

Several Squadrons drowned, and M. de Tallard *taken.*

Messieurs *de Clerambant* and *Blansac* commanded the Dragoons and Infantry in the Village of *Blenheim*. The former, without taking a Resolution worthy of his Name, with a powerful Body which was yet intire, and covered by the Cannon of *Hockstedt*, as soon as he saw the Rout of the Cavalry, caused his Postillion to sound the *Danube* and throwing himself into it was drowned. The Duke having surrounded the Village by several Lines, advanced to block it up close on the Left Flank, where the Right of the *French* Horse was before posted. The Battalions were soon alarmed, and the Colonel of the Royal Regiment bethought himself of saving his Life, and that of his Sol-

Twenty-seven Battalions and 10 *Squadrons taken Prisoners.*

diers;

diers, whom he cauſed to lay down their Arms, and himſelf ſurrendered the Colours. The Duke of *Marlborough*, judging rightly, that there were old Troops in that Place, the overcoming of which would coſt him dear, made uſe of M. *Denonville*, his Priſoner, to exhort them to accept of their Lives. All yielded at laſt, tho' with Reluctance, and the Articles were ſigned. The Troops were diſarmed, and their Colours taken from them. 1704

While this was tranſacted on the Confederates Left, Prince *Eugene* attacked the Left of the Enemy commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria* and Marſhal *Marſin*; who, being advantageouſly poſted, made a ſtout Reſiſtance, and diſputed the Ground with a great deal of Obſtinacy. But the Defeat of Marſhal *Tallard* having diſcouraged them, they gave Ground, and retired, having had 24 Battalions almoſt cut in Pieces. Their Horſe likewiſe ſuffered very much. The Troops of the Left took 35 Pieces of Cannon, and thoſe of the Right 10: But as the Enemy had a greater Number of them it was ſuppoſed they had thrown them into the *Danube*, or in the Moraſs. *The Left routed.*

It was obſerved this Day, that the Duke was reſolved either to conquer or die: For, ſome Hours before the Battle, he devoted himſelf to God in the Preſence of his Chaplain, and received the Sacrament. When he was in the Heat of Action one of the Generals, after two Attacks upon the Enemy's Lines, having wheeled off with the Horſe in Deſpair, He ſaid, Mr. —— "You are under "a Miſtake; the Enemy lies that way; you have "nothing to do but to face him, and the Day is "your own." Upon which, that General returned to the Charge, and helped to repulſe the Enemy with a terrible Slaughter. His Grace, after the Battle, ordered all Neceſſaries for the Priſoners, and made Viſits to the Wounded. In particular, when he had the Marſhal *de Tallard* in *The Duke's Behaviour before, in, and after this Action.*

1704 in his Coach with him, his Grace ſaid to that General, " 'Tis to be confeſſed, Sir, that Providence " has befriended me, in giving me the Advantage " over you in the Field of Battle; but I have no- " thing more to rejoice in, from its having eſ- " pouſed my Side, then that this Advantage, which " I have gained, furniſhes me with an Opportu- " nity of ſhewing the reſpect and Eſteem I ſhall " always bear to your Perſon and Character." But when the Marſhal afterwards told him, " That " hisGrace had beaten the beſt Troops in the " World:" The Duke replied, " Your Lordſhip, " I preſume, excepts Thoſe who had the Honour " to beat them."

In great Danger. Biſhop *Burnet* relates, that his Grace aſſured him, he never ſaw more evident Characters of a ſpecial Providence, than appeared this Day. A ſignal one related to his own Perſon. A Cannon Ball went into the Ground ſo near, that he was ſometime quite covered with the Cloud of Duſt and Earth that it raiſed about him.

The Elector retreats to Ulm. The Elector *Bavaria* retired over the *Danube* by the Bridge of *Lawingen*, and marched directly for *Ulm*, to rally his ſcattered Troops. He ſent Orders at the ſame to his Troops in *Augsburg*, and other Places, to quit them and join him; and accordingly the *French* marched out of *Augsburgh*. carrying with them 4 Hoſtages as a Security for 2000 Sick or Wounded Men, which they had left in that Place.

Augſburg *taken into Protection by the D. of* Marlborough. The Magiſtrates, being aſſembled immediately after, ſent 4 Deputies to the Duke, who the ſame Night had their Audience, and deſired his Protection. His Grace anſwered, that they had nothing to Fear from the Troops of her *Britannick* Majeſty and the States, who were ſent only againſt the Enemies of the Empire and their Allies. A Detachment was ordered to take Poſſeſſion of that important Poſt, wherein the Elector, without the Rein-

Reinforcement of Marſhal *Tallard*, had been able 1704
to ſtop all the Confederate Forces.

The Allies had in the Battle of *Hockſtedt*, 66 Battalions and 181 Squadrons: The Enemies had 84 Battalions and 150 Squadrons. As ſome of their Battalions were not compleat, and one with another, they were reckoned but at 400 Men, this made them 7320 Men ſuperior to the Allies in Foot; and 31 Squadrons, at 100 Horſe each, which the Allies had more than they, making 3100, their Army was in the whole 4220 Men ſuperior to the Allies. Marſhal *Tallard*, with the other Officers of Note, was ſent towards *Frankfort* and *Hanau*, under a Guard of Dragoons. Upon a Repartition of the other Priſoners, who were ſent into the neighbouring Places, they were found to exceed 13,000 Officers and Soldiers, including about 3000, who liſted themſelves in the Confederate Troops. Theſe, with the killed and Wounded, made the Loſs of the Enemy amount to almoſt 40,000 Men. They loſt alſo 5400 Carriages, 34 Coaches full of the Ladies of their Officers, 334 Mules loaded with Equipages, 40 Pieces of large Cannon, and many ſmall ones, 24 Mortars, 129 Colours and 15 Standards taken by the Duke of *Marlborough*, 80 more Colours or Standards taken by Prince *Eugene*, 17 Pair of Kettle-Drums, the Military Cheſt, the Chancery, the Diſpenſary, 3600 Tents, and 25 Copper Pontoons. The Loſs of the Allies amounted to near 12,000 Men killed or wounded. *Strength and loſs of each Army.*

The Conſequence of this Victory, after that at *Schellenberg*, being the Reduction of all *Bavaria*, and the Places which the Elector had taken from the Empire, occaſioned congratulatory Letters to his Grace, from moſt of the Potentates of *Europe*, in particular from the States-General and the Emperor. That from the States compliments him thus.

Your

1704

Letter from the States General to the D. of Marlborough.

" Your firſt Exploits this Campaign at *Schellen-*
" *berg*, gave us Grounds to expect ſomething bet-
" ter; but we durſt not extend our Hopes to ſo
" great and compleat a Victory, as this which you
" have obtained over the Enemy, with the Arms
" of the Allies.

" This Battle will ſet the Greatneſs of your
" Merit in its true Luſtre: A Battle! the Glory
" of which the greateſt Captains of former Ages
" may envy you; and the Memory of which can
" never periſh in ſucceeding Ages. We moſt hum-
" bly congratulate your Excellency upon it; re-
" joycing in the Glory you have acquired by it,
" as well as for the Advantage that muſt enſue
" upon it to the Common Cauſe.

" This Action will inſtruct *France*, that her
" Forces are not always invincible, and will prove
" ſuch a Blow, as her King never felt in the
" whole Courſe of his Reign.

From the Emperor to him as Pr. of Mindelheim.

The Emperor's Letter was written with his own Hand, and directed to the Duke as Prince of *Mindelheim*; which Title his Grace accepted with the Queen's Leave, after having refuſed the Patent till he knew her Pleaſure. His Imperial Majeſty informs him, " That he has freely, and of his own
" Accord, admitted him among the Princes of the
" *Roman* Empire; not ſo much in Conſideration
" of the Nobility of his Extraction, as upon the
" Account of his perſonal Merit, and his great
" Deſerts towards the Auguſt Houſe of *Auſtria*,
" and the Holy *Roman* Empire.

" I have been willing, *his Majeſty continues*,
" that this publick Monument of the ſupreme Ho-
" nour in *Germany*, which I have ſo deſervedly
" conferred upon you, ſhould remain, that it may
" be more and more made appear to the whole
" World, how much I, and all the Empire, owe
" to the moſt Serene Queen of *Great-Britain*, for
" having ſent her powerful Aſſiſtance as far as *Ba-*
" *varia* itſelf, under your Conduct; and alſo to
" your

" your Highneſs, upon account that Things have 1704
" been ſo prudently, ſo vigorouſly, and ſo ſuc-
" ceſsfully tranſacted. —Theſe Actions are ſo
" great, and particularly that of *Hockſtedt*, that
" we may rejoice to ſee, not only the moſt perni-
" cious Efforts of the Enemy repulſed, and the
" Affairs of *Germany*, which were ſomewhat tot-
" tering, and thoſe of all *Europe*, ſecured and ſet-
" tled again; but likewiſe, it may be reaſonably
" hoped, that the full and perfect Liberty of the
" Chriſtian World ſhould be reſcued from the
" Power of *France*, which was ſo imminently im-
" pending over it.

His Imperial Majeſty alſo ordered a Pillar to be erected at *Hockſtedt*, to perpetuate the Memory of this glorious Battle, and his own Gratitude, by an elegant *Latin* Inſcription, which remained till the general Peace, when the Elector of *Bavaria*, being reſtored to his Dominions, cauſed it to be demoliſhed. We muſt not omit the Tranſlation of this Inſcription, compoſed by M. *Stepney*, his Grace's Miniſter at the Diet of the Empire, as it does ſo much Honour to our great Countryman.

A Monument Sacred to Eternal Memory.

Monument in Memory of the Battle of Blenheim.

On the 13th Day of *Auguſt*, 1704,
In, and near this Place,
Were routed, after an incredible Slaughter,
The *French* and *Bavarian* Armies,
Under the Command
Of *Emanuel*, the Elector,
And the Marſhals of *France*, *Tallard* and *Marſin*:
The Firſt of whom was taken
Priſoner in the Battle,
With 40 other Generals of the Firſt Rank,
900 Officers of Leſſer Note
And 12,000 Common Soldiers.
Beſides 14,000 put to the Sword in the Field of Battle,
And 4000 puſhed into the *Danube*.
The victorious Army was Commanded,
With an Immortal Glory, By

1704 By *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, an *Engliſhman*,
Who under the happy Influence of his Miſtreſs,
Queen *ANNE*,
And the States-General of the *United Netherlands*;
Led a Valiant Army from the *Thames*, and the
[*Maeſe*, to the *Danube*,
To ſuccour *Germany*, that was reduced to the laſt
[Extremity
Which Expedition He began to accompliſh with
[the greateſt Courage,
In Conjunction with the Forces under *Lewis* of *Baden*,
By taking the ſtrong Paſs and Mount of *Donawert*,
That ſeemed impregnable through its deep En-
[trenchments;
And afterwards, having rejoined the Forces com-
[manded by
Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, brought to Perfection,
With the ſame Conſtancy of Mind, and Suceſs,
In the deciſive Battle that was Fought here between
[*Rlenheim* and *Hockſtedt*.
The Enemies Army
Had the Advantage of Numbers, and Ground on
[their Side;
Nor was there any other Paſſage to Victory,
For the Confederates, than though Rivers and
[Moraſſes.
From hence the Generals of the Confederate Armies
[may know,
That Valour overcomes all Obſtacles;
Princes may learn,
That Conſpiracies with the Enemies of their Na-
[tive Country
Go ſeldom unpuniſhed:
And *Lewis* XIV Muſt at laſt confeſs,
That no Prince whatſoever ought to be called
Great
And Happy,
Before his Death.

THE

THE HISTORY OF JOHN Duke of *Marlborough*.

BOOK III.

To the Battle of Ramillies, *and the Reduction of* Brabant *and* Flanders.

THE Duke of *Marlborough*, having marched to *Sefellingen*, continued there some Days, to concert with the Imperial Generals the further Operations of the Campaign. On the 23d of *Auguſt*, a Trumpeter came to his Camp, from the Elector of *Bavaria*, with a Letter for his Grace, desiring him to give Conveyance to one inclosed for the Electress; who having set out to follow her Husband, and not been able to join him, was returned to *Munich* with her Children, under a Guard of 14 Squa- 1704

His Grace forwards a Letter from the Elector to the Electress.

1704 Squadrons. The Duke sent immediately that Letter to her Electoral Highness by a Trumpeter, and on the 24th had a long Conference with Prince *Lewis* (who had abandoned the Siege of *Ingoldstadt*, by the Advice of the other Princes, in the Opinion that it must soon surrender voluntarily) and Prince *Eugene*, wherein it was resolved, that since the Enemy were retiring towards the *Rhine*, all the Forces should likewise march that Way, except 20 Battalions and 40 Squadrons, which should be left under the Command of Generel *Thungen*, to carry on the Siege of *Ulm*. It was resolved also, that Count *Wratislau*, Minister of the Emperor, should continue in the Camp before that Place, to manage the Negotiations with the Electress of *Bavaria*, who made some Proposals to deliver up that Place, and the whole Electorate, upon certain Conditions.

Marches towards the Rhine. This Resolution being taken, the Confederate Troops began their March from the Neighbourhood of *Ulm* by different Routs, and Parts of the *English* passed the *Neckar* at *Lauffen* the 1st of *September*, and the 3d encamped at *Eppingen*. They then marched to join the rest of the Confederate Troops about *Philipsburg*, where Prince *Eugene* arrived the 2d, to give the necessary Directions for passing the *Rhine*, the Siege of *Landau* being resolved upon. About this Time the three Princes made a Visit to the Duke of *Wirtemberg* at *Stutgard*, where they were received with all imaginable Respect and Magnificense.

Ulm *surrendered.* General *Thungen*, who was left to carry on the Siege of *Ulm*, having formed it, and received his great Artillery the 8th of *September*, the Garrison beat a Parley the 10th, and the 11th surrendered the Place upon honourable Terms; which the Imperial General granted, that no Time might be lost from the further Execution of the Projects of the Campaign. The Imperialists found in *Ulm* 122 Pieces of Brass Cannon, 12 of Iron, 25 Mortars

tars of Brass, 1 of Iron, 1200 Barrels of Gun- 1704
powder, with a great Quantity of other Ammunition. General *Thungen*, having reduced that Place, made a Detachment of some Part of his Troops to reinforce the Imperialists and *Franconians* about *Ingoldstadt*, which was still blocked up, and marched with the rest to the Camp before *Landau*.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Lewis*, and Prince *Eugene*, having passed the *Rhine*, and encamped about the *Spierbach*; the Marshal *Villeroy* assembled all his Troops, and posted himself on the River *Queich*, in a most advantageous Camp between *Landau* and *Germansheim*, where he seemed resolved to make a Stand: But, upon the Motion of the Confederates, he retired towards *Haguenau* and the Allies persued him as far as the River *Lutter*; from whence Prince *Lewis* marched back to besiege *Landau*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* and Landau
Prince *Eugene* encamped at *Croon-Weinburg* to cover *invested.*
the Siege. The Place was in invested the 13th of *September*, and the Duke of *Montfort*, Major-general, who had put a Reinforcement into it, was attacked in his Return by the Imperial Hussars, and put to the Rout. That General made a noble Resistance, but was mortally wounded, so that he died two Days after. All possible Care was taken to bring the heavy Artillery before *Landau*; but yet it was impossible to open the Trenches till the 19th. The King of the *Romans*, who commanded the Siege in Chief, arrived in the Camp the 22d, and the Duke of *Marlborough* waited upon him the next Day. About this Time the Duke of *Lourain* sent one of his Chamberlaines to compliment the King, and another to the Duke of *Marlborough*; and defired, that his Territories, which lay open to the Excursions of the Hussars, might be preserved.

The Siege of *Landau* lasted much longer than was expected at first; and those who had flattered themselves,

1704 themſelves, that the Fortifications of that Place were not compleated, were very much miſtaken.

Progreſs of the Siege. The Damage they had received in the two laſt Sieges was not only repaired, but ſeveral new Works were now made to that Place, which was much ſtronger than before, and better provided. The *French* having obſerved, that the Safety of the Town conſiſted in the Out-works, had not only enlarged the Redoubt called the *Lunette of Melac*, (which was taken the 10th of *October*, after a ſtout Reſiſtance) but they had undermined all the *Glacis*, Counterſcarps, and Covert-ways, which rendered the Approaches extraordinary difficult, and took up a conſiderable Time; the Beſiegers being obliged to advance to the Conntersſcarp by Sap, without daring to attempt it otherwiſe Having diſcovered ſeveral Mines, they ventured the 18th to beat the Enemy from the Counterſcarp: But the Attack beginning two Hours ſooner than had been reſolved, they could not maintain their Ground on the Left, and only lodged themſelves on the Saliant Angle on the Right. They continued the Sap, and the 31ſt they lodged themſelves on the Palliſades, and raiſed Batteries to make a Breach.

Duke of Marlborough *leaves Pr.* Eugene *to cover the Siege.* The Length of that Siege made the Duke of *Marlborough* very uneaſy at *Croon Weiſſenberg*, his Grace being afraid that he ſhould not have Time to execute his deſigns on the *Moſelle*, which were no leſs important than the taking of *Landau*. This uneaſineſs increaſed upon advice, that the *French* intended to ſend a Reinforcement towards *Triers*, from the *Netherlands* and *Haguenau*. He then reſolved to purſue the Enemy, and to march thither in Perſon with Part of his Forces; leaving the reſt, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*, at *Croon-Weiſſenberg*. This Reſolution being taken, his Grace ſent ſome Battalion, and a Detachment of Horſe, to poſſeſs *Homburg*, with orders to fortify that Poſt, That Detachment was followed by

by another, with the Artillery, commanded by Colonel *Blood*; and on the 22d, the reſt of the Forces deſigned for that Expedition marched to *Homburg*, where the Duke joined them the 24th. His Grace marched with great Expedition thro' a mountainous Country, almoſt deſert, in order to prevent the Junction of the Troops from the two Camps of the Enemy. He arrived the 28th, at Night, at *Hermerſkel*, within 6 Leagues of *Triers*, where 3 Deputies of that City came to him, and acquainted him, that the *French* having ſtill 300 Men in the Fort, they were apprehenſive of ſome ill Uſage, if his Grace did not prevent it. This Advice obliged him to march the 29th, before Break of Day, with all the Cavalry, and 4 Battalions; and about 11 o'Clock, his Van-guard appearing in Sight of *Triers*, the *French* quitted the Fort, having thrown their Ammunition and ſome Corn into the *Moſelle*. His Dragoons purſued them to the Banks of the River, and took Part of their Baggage, and 10 or 12 Priſoners. They had no ſooner paſſed the River than they burnt the Flying Bridge, and in all likelihood would have done more Damage, had they had Time to execute it.

1704

His Grace takes Poſſeſſion of Homburg

And Triers

The Duke, having thus poſſeſſed that important Poſt, ſummoned a great Number of Pioneers to work on the Fortifications, and went on the 31ſt of *October* to view the Ground about the *Saar*; cauſing a Camp to be marked there for the Horſe, to cover thoſe Fortifications, where they encamped the next Day. The 1ſt of *November*, he made the Repartition of the Winter-Quarters to the ſeveral Generals under him, went to *Traerbach*, took a narrow View of the Place, gave the neceſſary Orders for the Siege of it by the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and then returned to the Camp of *Croon Weiſſenberg*. The *French* all this while made no Motions, but perfected their Lines about *Haguenau*. Their Parties ap-

Orders the Siege of Traerbach.

1704 peared frequently on the other Side of the *Rhine*, but more to get Horſes than any thing elſe.

Frequent Expreſſes arrived in the Camp before *Landau* from *Bavaria*; for the Emperor having referred to the King of the *Romans* the Management of the War, nothing could be done in the Treaty without his Advice. The States of *Bavaria* made ſeveral Offers for an Accommodation, but they were rejected, and the Evacuation of *Straubingen* and *Paſſau* was inſiſted on as a Preliminary towards a Treaty. The Marquis of *Prie*, Embaſſador of *Savoy*, arrived at *Croon-Weiſſenberg*, to confer with the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*. He had afterwards Audience of the King of the *Romans*; and in a Conference with that Monarch, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, they concerted the Number of Forces to be ſent into *Italy*, and their March. The Envoy of the King of *Poland* likewiſe arrived there, and it was agreed that the Duke of *Marlborough* ſhould take a Journey to the Court of *Berlin*. Mean time the Length of the Siege of *Landau* gave Birth to a World of Speculations, and revived ſeveral Diſcourſes, to the Prejudice of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. But, beſides that *Landau* was well fortified, and its Garriſon numerous, the Beſiegers were ſhort in their Artillery, Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries.

Concert the Operations in Italy.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, having taken leave of the King of the *Romans*, and the two Princes, ſet out for *Berlin* by the Way of *Caſſel*, where he was welcomed with the Diſcharge of the Cannon of the Place, and received with all imaginable Honours. He continued his Journey from thence, and arrived at the Capital of *Brandenburg* the 22d of *November* in the Evening. His Grace, upon his coming there, was met out of the Town by the King's Great Chamberlain, the Field-Marſhal, the Lord *Raby*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Queen of *Great Britain*, and ſeveral other Perſons

of

of Quality, who conducted him to the Houſe for Entertainment of Embaſſadors, where, with his Retinue, he was lodged, and entertained during his Stay there. He had Audience that Evening of the King and Queen, and was received with great Kindneſs and Eſteem. The 24th the Prince Royal entertained him at Dinner, where were the King and Queen, with the Foreign Miniſters, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality; and at Night his Royal Highneſs gave a Supper, and afterwards a ſplendid Ball, for his Grace's Entertainment. The 25th, the King had for his Diverſion a Combat of Wild Beaſts in his Amphitheatre; and at a Supper which the Lord *Raby* gave his Grace, his Majeſty, with the Margrave his Brother, came and ſupped with him. The Miniſters of this Court, the Foreign Miniſters, and other Perſons of Quality, all ſtrove in a particular Manner to expreſs their Senſe of his perſonal Merit, and of the ſignal Advantages the Empire had received by his Courage and Conduct. The 26th, accompanied by the Prince Royal of *Pruſſia*, the Duke left *Berlin*, and proceeded for *Hanover*; being extremely well ſatisfied with his Reception, and the Succeſs of his Negotiation. The King gave him, at his Departure, a Hat, with a Diamond Button and Loop, and a Diamond Hatband, valued at between 20 and 30,000 Crowns; two fine Saddle-Horſes, with very rich Furniture, and many other Preſents. His Majeſty alſo gave noble Preſents to his Secretary, and the other principal Perſons of his Grace's Retinue.

1704 *The Duke of* Marlborough's *Reception at* Berlin.

The Duke, in this Viſit, prevailed with the King to continue, and even to augment his Forces in *Italy*, when he was on the Point of recalling them from the Duke of *Savoy*'s Service; which kept the *Savoyard* ſteady to the Alliance. And his Grace alſo laid down ſuch Schemes to the Court of *Berlin*, as deferred their Pretenſions to the late King *William*'s Eſtate to a better Opportunity, and

Succeſs of his Negotiations there.

1704 prevented ſome Miſunderſtandings betwixt the *Pruſſians* and the *Dutch* about that Affair: Which wiſe Conduct of his, in theſe Particulars, cauſed the whole Confederacy to acknowledge, " That " he had done the greateſt Services that could be, " to the Common Cauſe, at that Juncture."

Treaty with the Electreſs of Bavaria.

The Treaty with the Electreſs of *Bavaria* was at laſt concluded, and ſigned by the King of the *Romans* in the Camp before *Landau*. The chief Articles of it were, " That *Ingoldſtadt*, *Landſhut*, " *Branau*, and all the other Fortreſſes in *Bavaria*, " were to be put into the Hands of the Emperor: " That the *Bavarian* Troops ſhouldbe immediately " diſbanded, except ſuch who would voluntarily " enter into the Emperor's Service: That the " Electreſs ſhould be allowed to keep 400 Men " for her Guard in *Munich*; but that the Fortifi- " cations of that Place ſhould be demoliſhed: " That a certain Sum ſhould be allowed to that " Princeſs, out of the yearly Income of the Elec- " torate, for the Support of her Court and Fa- " mily; with ſeveral other Particulars relating to " the Contributions there." All the Confederates were glad to hear that Affair was adjuſted, except ſome of the Miniſters at *Vienna*, who had Intereſt enough to make the Emperor heſitate ſeveral Days about the Ratification of that Treaty.

The Imperial Troops being marched to take Poſſeſſion of *Ingoldſtadt*, the *Bavarian* Garriſon refuſed to evacuate that Place, and declared, that they would not do it till they were paid off their Arrears. Their Generals uſed all poſſible Endeavours to perſuade them to ſubmit, but to no Purpoſe. How this Affair was at laſt adjuſted by Prince *Eugene*, I have related in the Life of that Hero.

M. *de Laubanie*, Governor of *Landau*, continued to make a gallant Defence. The Imperialiſts carried on their Approaches by the Sap, and their Batteries being finiſhed, they played upon the Half-

Moon,

Moon, and other Works, with a great deal of Fury. They alſo prepared Galleries to paſs the Ditch, and ſtorm the Counter-Guards. The Half-Moon was ſtormed the 15th of *November*; and the Beſiegers lodged themſelves on it with very little Loſs. The Enemy were afterwards obliged to quit the Counter-guards, and all Things being ready for a general Storm, the Governor beat a Parley the 23d. Hoſtages were then exchanged, and the King of the *Romans* was willing to grant them honourable Conditions. The Garriſon marched out the 26th, in the Preſence of the King, the Elector Palatine, Prince *Lewis*, Prince *Eugene*, and ſeveral other Princes and Generals. They were about 3400; and, as they were at the Beginning of the Siege 7000 ſtrong, they had loſt very near as many Men as the Beſiegers. The King of the *Romans* went into the Place, which was but a Heap of Ruins, and gave the Command of it to the Count *de Friſe*, who the Year before defended it againſt the *French*. M. *de Laubanie*, the Governor, having been blinded by a Bomb, could not march out with his Garriſon thro' the Breach, but was forced to ſit in a Calaſh. 1704

Landau taken.

The *Engliſh* Forces, having continued at *Croon-Weiſſenberg* as long as there was any Likelihood that the *French* would attempt to relieve *Landau*, *Winter* decamped the Middle of *November*. The Foot embarked on the *Rhine* for *Holland*, and the Horſe marched by much the ſame Rout they kept when they came into *Germany*. I muſt juſt take Notice that while the Imperial Army was before *Landau*, and the *French* near *Haguenau*, the Governor of *Friburg* attempted to ſurpriſe *Old Briſac*, in the ſame Manner as Prince *Eugene* had attempted to ſurpriſe *Cremona*. The ſame Prince projected this Enterpriſe, and I have given ſome Account of it in his Life.

The Engliſh go into Winter Quarters.

Traerbach being inveſted the Beginning of *November*, the Batteries began to play the 18th with

The Siege of Traerſo bach.

1704 ſo much ſucceſs, that on the 21ſt, the Beſiegers attempted to ſtorm and ſcalade the Caſtle; but the Rock proved ſo ſteep on that Side, and the Rain was ſo violent, that they were obliged to retire. They made another Attempt the 23d, in the Night, when Part of the Troops commanded for that Service miſſed their Way; and ſo the Allies where obliged to abandon that attack, and remove their Batteries on the other Side, where the Aſcent of the Rock was more eaſy. It was the firſt thought that the *French* would interrupt that Siege; but they having ſent their Troops into Winter-Quarters, made no Motions for that Purpoſe. M. *d' Auverquerque*, who had this Year commanded in the *Netherlands*, and now lay encamped to cover the Siege, was ordered to ſeparate the Forces of the States, and return to the *Hague*, where the Duke of *Marlborough* arrived the 13th of *December*. His Grace came to *Honover* the 1ſt, was received with all imaginable Honours, and continued there 4 Days, when, having finiſhed his Negotiations, he ſet out for *Amſterdam*, having been invited thither in great Ceremony. His Reception was equal to the Solemnity of his Invitation. Burgomaſter *Whitſen*, and the Penſionary, complimented him in the name of the whole Magiſtracy, congratalating his ſafe Return from his glorious Campaign and his Victories at *Schellenberg* and *Hockſtedt*.

The Duke, after his Arrival at the *Hague*, was daily in Conference with the Deputies of the States, and the Foreign Miniſters, about the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs. He received the Thanks of the States-General, and an Aſſembly was convened on Purpoſe to honour him with their publick Acknowledgments, which were delivered in Form by the Preſident of the Week. He continued there till towards the End of the Month, and then ſet ſail for *England*, being accompanied to *Rotterdam* by the Prince Royal of *Pruſſia*, and conducting with him Marſhal *Tallard*, and the reſt

He arrives in England.

reſt of the *French* General Officers, who fell to the Share of the *Engliſh*. At his Arrival in *England*, he met with ſtill greater Honours: For the Queen and her Royal Conſort received him with the higheſt Eſteem, and he had the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament. The Lord Keeper, Sir *Nathan. Wright*, made an Harangue to him in the Houſe of Lords, in which the great Actions of the Year are thus diſplayed. 1705

" The happy Succeſs that has attended her
" Majeſty's Arms, under your Grace's Conduct in
" *Germany*, the laſt Campaign, is ſo truly glorious
" in all its Circumſtances, that few inſtances in
" the Hiſtories of former Ages can equal, much
" leſs exceed the Luſtre of it. Your Grace has
" not overthrown young unſkilful Generals, raw
" and undiſciplined Troops, but your Grace has
" conquered the *French* and *Bavarian* Armies;
" Armies that were fully inſtructed in all the Arts
" of War; ſelect veteran Troops, fluſhed with
" former Victories, and comnanded by Generals
" of great Experience and Bravery.

Ld. Keeper Wright's Speech to his Grace

" The glorious Victories your Grace has ob-
" tained at *Schellenberg* and *Hockſtedt* are very
" great, very illuſtrious in themſelves; but they
" are greater ſtill in their Conſequences to Her
" Majeſty and her Allies. The Emperor is
" thereby relieved; the Empire itſelf freed from
" a dangerous Enemy in the very Bowels of
" it; the exorbitant Power of *France* is check'd
" and I hope a happy Step made towards reducing
" that Monarch within his due Bounds, and ſe-
" curing the Liberties of *Europe*.

" The Honour of theſe glorious Victories,
" great as they are (under the immediate Bleſſings
" of Almighty God) is chiefly, if not alone, ow-
" ing to your Grace's Conduct and Valour. This
" is the unanimous Voice of *England*, and all her
" Majeſty's Allies."

1704 The Houſe of Commons thanked his Grace as uſual by a Deputation, and addreſſed the Queen to perpetuate his Memory: Whereupon her Majeſty declared her inclination to grant the Intereſt of the Crown in the Honour and Manor of *Woodſtock*, free of all Incumbrances; and a Bill was paſſed by both Houſes for that Purpoſe.

Manor of Wood-ſtock *ſettled on him.*

I conclude the Tranſactions of this Year with obſerving, that the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Traerbach* was at laſt obliged to ſurrender to the Prince of *Heſſel-Caſſel*, notwithſtanding the bad Weather, which had much retarded the Siege. After a long and obſtinate Defence, the Governor of the Caſtle perceiving that the Prince was drawing a Line on the Band of the Ditch, to erect a Battery there, in order to make a Breach in the Wall, beat a Parley on the 18th of *December*, about Four in the Afternoon, and Hoſtages were exchanged to agree upon the Points demanded. The Garriſon marched out on the 20th, in the Morning, being in all but 250 Men; whereas they were 600 before the Siege. This Acquiſition coſt the *Dutch* 1000 Men killed and wounded. They found in the Place 26 Cannon and 3 Mortars, with a good Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſions, and 24 Hogſheads of Wine.

Traer-bach *taken.*

Notwithſtanding theſe wonderful Succeſſes on the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, the Affairs of the Houſe of *Auſtria* were far from being in the beſt Situation. What paſſed in *Italy* and *Hungary* is briefly related in *The Hiſtory of Prince* Eugene. I muſt add, that the Preſence of King *Charles* III. on the Frontiers of *Spain*, had not the Influence that was generally expected. The *Portugueſe*, having in a long Peace unlearned the Art of War, were ſhort in their Preparations; but yet, towards the latter End of the Campaign, marched into *Spain*, and forced the *Spaniards* to entrench themſelves behind a River, where it was inpracticable to attack them.

Affairs in Spain.

The

The Confederate Fleet in the *Streights* got, indeed, two conſiderable Advantages. They took *Gibraltar*, a Place ſo ſtrong by its Situation, that the Enemy did not fancy they could ſo much as have a Deſign to attack it; and then they worſted the *French* Fleet, which came out of *Toulou* clean, and extraordinary well manned, under the Command of the Count of *Thouloufe*; who, beſides that Advantage, being ſuperior in great Ships, and having 24 Gallies with him, was confident of an entire Victory. That young Admiral found himſelf miſtaken, and tho' he palliated his Diſgrace in his Letters to the *French* King, had not the Aſſurance to ſay that he had got a Victory, but uſed the more modeſt Word *Advantage*. 1704 *In the Streights.*

The main Seat of the War having been transferred into *Germany* from the *Netherlands*, nothing material was tranſacted on that Side, and the many Endeavours of M. *d'Auverquerque* to engage the Enemy were to no Purpoſe. They kept cloſe behind their Lines; and the Bombardment of *Bruges* and *Namur*, with the Taking of the Fort of *Iſabella*, were not ſufficient to provoke the *Spaniſh* Gravity of the Marquis *de Bedmar* to fight: And when the Elector of *Bavaria* was arrived at *Bruſſels*, and declared his Reſolution to attack the Army of the States, Marſhal *Villeroy* oppoſed it, and ſhewed him a poſitive Order of his Maſter, whereby he was forbid to venture upon an Engagement. *In the Netherlands.*

The total Overthrow of the *French* Forces in *Germany*, the Retaking of *Landau*, and the Securing of *Triers*, and other Poſts on the *Moſelle* and the *Saar*, (as related in the preceding Pages) made the *French* very uneaſy, and deſirous of Peace. They began to repent the Violation of the famous Treaty of Partition, which might have ſaved Millions of Men; and. in order to feel the Pulſe of the Allies, they propoſed a ſecond Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. This new Pro- *The French deſire Peace.*

1704 ject was first printed in the *Netherlands*, in a kind of Journal, and afterwards reprinted in other Places by itself. The whole Substance thereof run upon this: "That *Philip* should continue King of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and King *Charles* be put in Possession of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Milan*; and that the *Spanish Netherlands* be yielded by the respective Parties for ever to the Elector of *Bavaria*." This Expedient they gave out, would cure all the Jealousies and Oppressions *Europe* groaned under, and secure a lasting Peace. But the *English* and *Dutch* were not yet in a Temper to lay down their Arms and declared they would never do it whilst the House of *Bourbon* was in Possession of the Throne of *Spain*, and consequently whilst it was in the Power of the *French* to exclude them from the beneficial Trades of the *West-Indies* and *Turkey*.

1705 These Propositions not being attended to, the Duke of *Marlborough*, having received all the Honours due to his extraordinary Merit, been publicly treated in the City of *London*, seen the Trophies of his Victories hung up in *Westminster-Hall*, and what was more than all, had the Memory of his Exploits perpetuated by a RoyalGrant and an Act of Parliament; his Grace prepared again to take the Field. The Forces of the States under M. *d'Auverquerque*, began to canton the latter End of *March*, and every Thing was ready to enter upon Acting, immediately after the Arrival of the Duke of *Marlborough*. The Forces of *England* and *Holland*, which were to take the Field, consisted of 120 Battalions, and 163 Squadrons, besides some *Palatines*, and 4000 *Wirtembergers* in the Pay of their High Mightinesses, who were to serve on the *Upper Rhine*, under Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*.

Preparations for another Campaign.

D. of Marlborough *takes the Field.*

The Duke of *Marlborough* arrived at the *Hague* the 2d of *April*, and was every Day all that Month in Conference with the Deputies of the States, and the Foreign Ministers. His Grace having concerted with

with their High Mightineſſes the Operations of the Campaign, and ſent Brigadier *Cadogan* to confer with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* on the ſame Subject, ſet out for *Maeſtricht*, where M. *d'Auverquerque* was arrived two or three Days before, and had begun to aſſemble the Army which was to act under his Command. The Projects of this Campaign, like thoſe of the laſt, were impenetrable to the *French*. They were every where on their Guard, and ſeemed equally concerned for the Lines in *Brabant* and on the *Moſelle*. Marſhal *Villeroy* commanded this Year in the *Netherlands*; but the Elector of *Bavaria* ordered his Equipage to be got ready, that he might put himſelf at the Head of the Army, in caſe the Duke of *Marlborough* made any Attempt againſt the *Spaniſh* Provinces. 1705

It gave no ſmall Alarm to the Allies, when News came that the Emperor *Leopold* died at *Vienna* the 5th of *May*. That Prince was born the 9th of *June*, 1640, was crowned King of *Hungary* the 27th, 1655, and of *Bohemia* the 14th of *September*, 1656; and the 18th of *July* 1658, he was elected Emperor. He was ſucceeded by *Joſeph* King of the *Romans*, born *July* the 26th, 1678, crowned King of *Hungary*, *December* the 9th, 1687, and elected King of the *Romans*, *January* the 24th, 1690. The Declaration and vigorous Proceedings of this new Emperor ſoon made the Confederates eaſy, who found that the Alliance had loſt nothing by this Change in the Head of the Empire. *Death of the Emp. Leopold.*

One Part of Brigadier *Cadogan*'s Commiſſion was, to agree upon an Interview between the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*: But his Highneſs being unable, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition, to come as far as *Criutzn atch*, according to Appointment, his Grace went to confer with him at *Raſtadt*, where the Operations of the next Campaign were fully concerted. It was reſolved to leave a ſufficient Number of Troops for

the

1705 the Security of the Lines of *Lauterberg* and *Stolhoffen*, under the Command of General *Thungen*; and that Prince *Lewis* ſhould march with a great Detachment towards the *Saar*, to act in concert with the Duke. His Grace arrived at *Triers* the 27th of *May*, and having aſſembled all the Troops in the Neighbourhood of that Place, the *Engliſh* Forces paſſed the *Moſelle* at *Igel* the 3d of *June*. The *Dutch*, *Heſſians*, *Danes*, and *Lunenburghers* paſſed the *Saar* at the ſame Time, and ſo all the Forces joined.

The Forces join and the Duke offers Battle to M. de Villars, *which he refuſes.*

His Grace advanced by the Defile of *Tavern*, and, after a very long March, the Right came within a Mile of *Syrk*. The next Day he made a Motion, and took the Camp of *Elſt*, the Right at *Perle* on the *Moſelle*, and the Left at *Hollendorf*. The Deſign of his Grace was, if poſſible, to bring Marſhal *Villars* to an Engagement. But that General quitted his Camp of *Syrk*, in great Precipitation, tho' with a much ſuperior Army, upon the Approach of the Allies, and retired towards *Coningſmackeren*, taking a Camp wherein it was impoſſible to attack him with Succeſs. Hence it was concluded, that he had poſitive Orders not to fight, which he might have done with great Advantage, in the difficult Country the Allies were neceſſitated to paſs. But the Duke of *Marlborough* was obliged to offer Battle in this Manner, if ever he expected the *French* to accept it; which finding they would not at this Time, the Siege of *Saar Louis* was reſolved on, to be commanded by the Prince of *Baden*, and covered by the Duke of *Marlborough*.

His Deſign on Saar Lewis *fruſtrated by the Backwardneſs of the* Germans.

The Taking of that Place was of ſo great Importance, that the Succeſs of the whole Campaign in a great Meaſure depended on it. Yet neither the Prince of *Baden*, nor the appointed Detachment, came to carry on the Enterprize.

Mean time Forage was ſo ſcarce that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Army could not long ſubſiſt between the

the *Moſelle* and the *Saar*. The Duke ſent frequent Expreſſes to quicken the March of the Imperialiſts and exhort the Princes, who had promiſed to furniſh Artillery, Horſes and Waggons, to ſend them with all Expedition. His Exhortations, and thoſe of the States, were to no Purpoſe: For tho' ſome Imperial Troops were detached from *Lauterberg* for the *Moſelle*, they would march only their own Way, that is, ſo ſlowly, that inſtead of being on the *Saar* the 9th or 10th of *June*, they were not arrived the 20th, and there were neither Horſes nor Artillery provided. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who had promiſed to accompany them in Perſon came indeed as far as *Creutznach*, and then falling ſick, took an Opportunity to go to the Bath of *Sualbach*, leaving thoſe Forces under the Command of the Count *de Friſe*. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* made a little more Haſte with his 4000 Men in the Pay of the States, and the *Pruſſians* arrived a Day before the Grand Army was neceſſitated to decamp. 1705

The *French*, during this Interval, had taken *Huy* and inveſted *Liege*: Whereupon the Deputies of the States repreſented to the Duke of *Marlborough*, that it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt any longer in his Camp; that the *Germans* having, by their Delays, rendered the Siege of *Saar Louis* impoſſible, and defeated all the Projects on the *Moſelle*, it was to no Purpoſe to continue any longer in theſe Parts, when their Forces might be better employed in the *Netherlands*, for ſtopping the Progreſs of their Enemies. The Duke was as ſenſible of that melancholy Truth, as the Deputies of the States were; but being willing to tarry to the laſt Extremity, he did not decamp till he ſaw all his Hopes vaniſhed away, He left *Elſe*, his Head Quarters the 17th, to return towards *Triers*; which he did without being diſturbed by the *French*, who ſaw the Confederate Army retire with the ſame Tranquility

His Grace is obliged to decamp.

1705 quility they had expreſſed when it advanced that Way.

The Army ſeparate. The Duke of *Marlborugh*, being arrived at *Triers*, held a great Council of War, wherein it was reſolved, That the Forces under his Command ſhould march back to the *Maeſe*, except 7000 *Palatines* in the Pay of *England* and *Holland*, who were left for the Security of *Triers*, and other Poſts on that Side, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Aubach*. They were to be joined, by Part of the Troops of *Weſtphalia*; and the 12,000 *Pruſſians* and 4000 *Wirtemberghers* were ordered to *Lauterberg*, to reinforce Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. According to this Reſolution, his Grace marched for the *Netherlands* by the ſhorteſt Way, and the *Germans* for the *Upper Rhine*.

Triers *demoliſhed and abandoned.* Marſhal *Villars*, hearing what was done, made a Detachment to reinforce the Elector of *Bavaria*, and another for the Army of Marſhal *Marſin* in *Alſatia*, and advanced with the reſt of his Grand Army towards the *Saar*. On the firſt Notice of it, the brave *Palatine* General ſent Orders to the Governor of *Saarbruck*, to quit that Caſtle and blow up the Fortifications, as ſoon as the Enemy ſhould appear; which was exactly performed. This was but the Preliminary of another Exploit projected by M. *d'Aubach*; for as ſoon as this was done, and before any Enemy appeared in Sight, he deſtroyed all the Magazines the allies had made in *Triers*, blew up the Fortifications, burnt the Boat deſigned to make Bridges, and quitted that important Poſt which had coſt ſo much Money to *England* and *Holland*.

Succeſſes of the French *on the* Rhine. The *French*, ſeeing the Allies had abandoned *Triers*, which they did not hope ſo eaſily to regain, took Poſſeſſion of it in this diſmantled Condition, and Marſhal *Villars* marched to join M. *de Marſin*; in Conjunction with whom, he beat the Imperialiſts from the Lines of *Croon-Weiſſenburg*. General *Thungen*, at the ſame Time, had much ado

to

to maintain himſelf in the Lines of *Lauterberg*. 1705
The ſame fatal Influence, which diſappointed the Deſigns of the allies on the *Saar*, ſtill kept the *German* Troops diſperſed, as if on purpoſe to give an Opportunity to the *French* to beat General *Thungen* over the *Rhine*, and retake *Landau*. This Miſmanagement of affairs on that Side, occa- *The Duke*
ſioned a repreſentation from the Duke of *Marlbo-* *writes to*
rough to the New Emperor, which he ſent by Co- *the Empe-*
lonel *Durel*, to give him a true Account of the *ror con-*
Poſture of Things, in order to prevent the like *cerning the*
Misfortunes for the future. *Affairs on*

The Duke as he marched from *Triers*, was in- *the* Rhine.
formed by an Expreſs from M. *d'Auverquerque*, That the *French* had not yet begun the Siege of *His Grace*
the Citadel of *Liege*. His Grace thereupon de- *raiſes the*
tached all the Grenadiers of the Army, and 100 *Siege of*
Men out of each Battalion, under the Command *Liege.*
of the Earl of *Orkney*, with Orders to march with all poſſible Speed to *Duren*, where he would join them with the Cavalry, in order to advance and relieve that Citadel, or fight the Enemy. This Expedition had a very good effect: For the *French*, being informed of it, ſent back their Artillery to *Namur*, and on the 27th of *June*, in the Morning, their Troops quitted the City of *Liege*, of which they had taken Poſſeſſion ſome Days before. Their Army marched to *Tongeren*, and from thence into their Lines, upon the Approach of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and M. *d'Auverquerque*, who advanced to attack them the 2d of *July*.

The Generals then thought fit to retake *Huy*, which was beſieged the 9th; and the ſame Day Fort *Picard* and the *Red Fort* were taken by *And re-*
Storm: Whereupon the Garriſon of the Old *takes* Huy.
Caſtle, conſiſting of 600 Men, commanded by Brigadier *de St. Pierre*, ſurrendered Priſoners of War, and had the ſame Uſage allowed them, which the *French* granted juſt a Month before to

M.

1705 M. *Cronſtroom*, the *Dutch* Governor. That Officer had defended the Place with a great deal of Bravery for 11 Days, and the *French* would have perhaps done the like, if the Breaches had been ſufficiently repaired.

Reſolves to attack the French *Lines.*

The Duke of *Marlborough*, after having retaken *Huy*, continued for ſome Days at his Camp about *Hannuye*, and ſent General *Hompeſch* to make certain Propoſals to the States, in relation to the Attack of the *French* Lines, which were drawn ſo as to cover the whole *Spaniſh Netherlands*. Their High Mightineſſes, having an entire Confidence in the Conduct of his Grace, left it wholly to him, to do whatever he ſhould think fit for the Good of the Common Cauſe. General *Hompeſch* being thereupon returned, the Duke held a Council of War, wherein the General Officers of his Army, and thoſe of that commanded by M. *d'Auverquerque*, (which was this Year encamped ſeparately, to prevent any Diſputes between Officers of the ſame Degree) were preſent. The forcing of the Lines was the Subject-Matter of Debate; but nothing being reſolved upon the firſt Time, a ſecond Council was called. Some Generals in the Service of the States oppoſed the Propoſal, and gave ſeveral ſtrong Arguments againſt it; but M. *d'Auverquerque*, the Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, Count *Noyelles*, and other Chief Commanders, declared it as their Opinion, that the Attacking of the ſaid Lines was neither dangerous, nor the Succeſs of it improbable, if the judicious Meaſures propoſed by the Duke of *Marlborough* were put in Execution; and a Reſolution was taken accordingly.

Divides the Enemies Army by a Feint.

The Enemy being poſted along their Lines with 100 Battalions, and 146 Squadrons, which made the two Armies pretty equal, (the Allies being 93 Battalions, and 159 Squadrons) it was reſolved to make a Feint to divide their Forces. Accordingly M. *d'Auverquerque* decamped from *Vignamont* the

17th

17th of *July*, at 3 o'Clock in the Morning, and marched towards *Burdine* on the other Side of the *Mehaigne*; and the Duke of *Marlborough* made a Motion at the ſame time, as if he intended to ſupport M. *de Auverquerque* in the Attack of the Lines about *Meffelen*, where they were not ſo ſtrong as in other Parts. This Feint ſucceeded even beyond Expectation; for the *French* marched that Way: But the ſame Night, after the Signal was given to the Soldiers to repair to their Tents, the Army under his Grace was ordered to march; as did alſo that under M. *d' Auverquerque*, which repaſſed the *Mehaigne*. They both advanced, with all poſſible Expedition, to ſupport the Detachment which was ordered for the Attack about *Hilleſheim*. The Deſign was ſo ſecret, and ſo ſudden in the Execution, that the Enemy knew nothing of it; and this being the ſtrongeſt Part of their Lines, was leſs ſuſpected than any other. 1705

Paſſes their Lines,

As the Enemy had drawn off moſt of their Troops, to reinforce the Poſts on the other Side the *Mehaigne*, the Confederate Army paſſed without any Oppoſition: But ſoon after 24 Squadrons of *Bavarian* Horſe, and 20 Battalions, advanced to repulſe the foremoſt Troops. This occaſioned a ſharp Diſpute; in which the Horſe and Dragoons of the Right Wing defeated the Enemy, who fled with great Precipitation, leaving their Standards, Colours, and Cannon, behind them. All the Troops behaved themſelves to Admiration; and, amongſt the Horſe, the Regiment of Brigadier *Cadogan* diſtinguiſhed themſelves, having had the Honour to Charge firſt. They defeated 4 Squadrons of *Bavarian* Guards, drove them thro' 2 Battalians of their own Foot, and took 4 Standards, They loſt Lieutenant *Auſtin*, and ſeveral Men and Horſes. The Allies took the Marquis *d' Allegre* and the Count *de Horn*, Lieutenant Generals, 3 *Bavarian* Colonels, and 74 other Officers, with 18 Pieces of Cannon.

The

1705 The Army marched the ſame Day, before Noon, to *Tirlemont*, the *French* decamping in their Sight, and paſſing the *Crete*, breaking down their Bridges with ſo much Precipitation, that they left behind them 14 or 1500 Men, who were taken Priſoners; as was alſo the Battalion of *Monluc* in *Tirlemont*. The Allies could not follow the flying Enemy, ſo as to fall upon them, by reaſon of a Defile. On the 29th his Grace came to *Ulierbeck*, and the *French*, ſeemed reſolved to defend *Louvain*. The Regiments of *La Marc* and *Alſace* were almoſt all cut in Pieces near *Hilleſheim*, where the Attack was begun by Count *de Noyelles*. The Foot under him were commanded by Lieutenant-Generals *Ingoldſby* and *Scholten*, and the Horſe by the Lieutenant-Generals *Lumley* and *Hampeſch*.

Priſoners taken.

" Count *de Noyelles*, (ſays the Duke in his Let-
" ter to the States) who commanded the Detach-
" ment of 38 Squadrons and 20 Battalions, which
" I cauſed to advance to ſurpriſe the Poſts of *Neer-*
" *heſpen* and *Hilleſheim*, ſucceeded perfectly well,
" and diſtinguiſhed himſelf extremely; as did alſo
" the Prince of *Heſſe*, and all the other Generals
" that were in the Action; and the Troops
" acquitted themſelves with a Bravery ſurpaſſing
" all that could be hoped."

Diſſentions among the Enemies Generals.

This Action occaſioned a great Diviſion among the Generals of the Enemy, For the *Bavarians* were accuſed by the *French* to have miſbehaved themſelves; and the Elector, on the other Hand, complained loudly of the *French*. That Prince expreſſed himſelf thus to the Baron of *Malknecht*, his Favourite, in a Letter from *Park* near *Louvain*.

" *Dear Baron*, God forgive thoſe who ſuffered
" themſelves to be ſurpriſed, The whole Army
" is here, and the Evil is not ſo great as to be
" paſt Remedy The Country of *Brabant* may
" be ſaved, as well as *Antwerp*, if it pleaſe God.
" I am well, but exceedingly fatigued."—A quite contrary

contrary Behaviour appeared among the Generals of the Allies, as may be ſeen in M. *d' Auverquerque*'s Letter to their High Mightineſſes, in the Poſtſcript of which he ſays: "I muſt do this "Juſtice to the Duke of *Marlborough*, to give "him all the Honour of this Enterpriſe, which "he hath carried on, and ſupported with a great "deal of Conduct and Valour." 1705

The States General, having received the ſeveral Accounts of this Action from the Duke, General *Auverquerque*, and their own Deputies, returned a Letter of Thanks to his Grace; which ſhewed their grateful Senſe of his great Services; They call his Paſſing the Lines A Happy Succeſs, for which they had made many Vows! "Our Gene- *The States*
"rals, ſay they, allow that this Victory, under *Letter to*
"God, is entirely due to your excellency's Care, *the Duke of*
"Prudence, and Valour; having ſurmounted and Marlbo-
"conquered thoſe Difficulties, and Obſtacles, rough.
"which, for above two Years, have appeared
"unſurmountable and invincible. This gives
"new Luſtre to your Laurels, at the ſame Time
"that it adds to their Number."

The Duke was in great Danger of his Life, *His Grace* having very much expoſed himſelf in the Action. *in Danger.* As he was leading on ſeveral Squadrons, a *French* or *Bavarian* Officer quitted his Poſt, and advanced, Sword in Hand, to ſtrike at his Grace: But, as he was raiſing himſelf in his Stirrup to reach him, he flung himſelf off his Horſe, and was killed.

Colonel *Richards* who had the Direction of making the Bridges, and behaved himſelf exceeding well, was ſent by the Duke to give the Emperor an Account of this glorious Advantage, and arrived at *Vienna* with that welcome News the 26th of *July*, juſt when they were celebrating at Court the Anniverſary of the Birth-Day of his Imperial Majeſty, who then entered the 28th Year of his Age. The Monarch took that Oppor-

tunity

1705 tunity to declare publickly his great Esteem for his Grace, and said, "That his Service to the Com-
Grateful Testimony of the Emperor Joseph *to the Duke's Merit.* "mon Cause in general, and in particular to his "Family, were such, that they should never be "forgotten by him, nor his Posterity."

The *French* Army retired behind the *Dyle*, in an advantageous Post, having that River in Front and the City of *Louvain*, where they lodged several Battalions; and it being thought not advisable to venture to pass that River in their Sight, it was agreed to attempt it another Way. Accordingly the Duke being informed, that several Posts on the *Dyle*, between *Louvain* and the Village of *Neder-Ische*, were slenderly guarded, his Grace resolved, with the Advice of the Generals, to endeavour to force them, in order to the Passing of that River. In pursuance of this Resolution, a Detachment of 18 Battalions commanded by Count *Oxenstiern*, and 20 Squadrons under the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, were ordered to advance, the 29th of *July*, about 5 in the Afternoon, with some Artillery and the Pontons. At 11 at Night, the Army decamped from the Left, and followed this Detachment, which arrived at the Posts designed about 3 the next Morning; and the Workmen immediately made Bridges at *Neder-Ische* on the Left, and near *Corbeck* on the Right. Two *Dutch* Battalions, with 500 Grenadiers, and as many Fusiliers, passed over at the former Place, with General *Hukehim* at their Head, and 500 Grenadiers at the latter, who obliged the Guards that attempted to oppose them to retire. His Grace and M. *d'Auverquerque*, with their main Armies, advanced to support the Detachments: But that on the Right met with great Difficulties, having a very large Body of Foot to attack. It appeared, that the Enemy, having got Notice of the Confederates Motion, began to march likewise at Midnight; and their Van appeared at the same Time

The Passage of the Dyle *attempted and frustrated.*

that

that the Duke's Army came to the River, having all the Advantage of the Ground, and Batteries planted just against the Bridges. Hereupon his Grace signified to M. *de Auverquerque*, that, in his Opinion, the Enterprise ought not to be pushed on; and the *Dutch* General being of the same Sentiment, it was thought fit to order their Men to retire; which they did in very good Order, bringing away their Bridges, and having had only 2 or 3 Officers wounded, and about 50 private Men killed and wounded. The Cannon of the Allies, which fired in the mean time from 2 Batteries without Intermission, did great Execution among the Enemies Troops. The Army afterwards marched, and encamped with the Right at *Meldert*, and the Left at *Borsu*. 1705

General Spaar makes a Diversion in Flanders.

While this was doing in *Brabant*, General *Spaar*, who commanded the *Dutch* Forces in *Flanders*, having been reinforced by several Battalions, attacked the Lines of the Enemy on that Side, passed the Canal between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, took 4 small Forts on that Canal, and drove the Enemy before him to *Moerbrugge*, where they made a Stand with 4 Battalions, and seemed resolved to defend that Post. They quitted it, however, upon General *Spaar*'s Approach, who made daily some further Motions towards *Bruges*, that he might not be intercepted by a Body of Troops which Messieurs *de la Motte*, *Vibraye*, and *Gasse*, had assembled in the Country of *Waes*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ghent*, consisting of 21 Battalions, 2 Regiments of Horse, and 1 of Dragoons. But being informed, by a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Slingeland*, that a Treaty for the General Contributions of *Flanders* was concluded, he did not think fit to venture any further into the Enemy's Country, and retired from *Bernen* to *Meldegern*. Here he continued for some Time, to refresh the Troops under his Command, who were very much fatigued, having marched for several Days and Nights together. He took

Care,

1705 Care, in this Excurſion, to raiſe Contributions, and ſecure Hoſtages, wherever he paſſed. He alſo ſent ſeveral Parties towards *Roſſelaer* and *Menin*, who did all the Miſchief they could, and brought away ſeveral Hoſtages. The chief Deſign of this General was to give a Diverſion to the Enemy, that might prove advantageous to the Grand Army in *Brabant*. This Diverſion was indeed very conſiderable, but there was Reaſon to wiſh it had been better improved. The Confederate Army being made up of ſeveral Nations, it was not ſurpriſing that Jealouſy ſhould produce ſome ill Effects; and we ſhall ſee more of that Nature in what follows.

It proving impoſſible to attack the *French* as the Duke of *Marlborough* had projected, his Grace ſent Lieutenant-General *Hompeſch* to propoſe a new Deſign to the States General; which being approved, the Army was provided with Bread for ſeveral Days. For the Succeſs of that March, as it was a very delicate Affair, we refer the Reader to the Letters of his Grace, M. *de Auverquerque*, the Deputies of the States, and Lieutenant-General *Saliſh*.

The Duke's Letter to the States, upon being oppoſed by the Field-Deputies.

The Duke informs them, that the Army marched the preceding *Saturday*; encamped that Day at *Corbais* and *St. Martin*, and the next Day at *Genap*. " *Monday*, ſays he, we came to *Fichermont*, and " Yeſterday, before Break of Day, we were in " Motion, and, after having paſſed ſeveral De- " files, came into a large Plain, finding the Enemy " encamped, as we expected, between *Over-Iſhe* " and *Nether-Iſhe*, with the little Rivulet *Iſhe* be- " fore them. About Noon the Army was drawn " up in battalia; and having, with M. *d' Auver-* " *querque*, viewed the four Poſts I deſigned to at- " tack, I already flattered myſelf (conſidering the " Goodneſs and Superiority of our Troops) to " have a ſudden Opportunity of congratulating " your High Mightineſſes upon a glorious Vic- " tory;

" tory ; but when there was nothing remaining 1705
" but to attack, it was not thought fit to do it.
" I am confident, that the Deputies of your High
" Mightineſſes will aquaint you with the Reaſons
" alledged to them on either Side, and that they
" will do that Juſtice to M. *d' Auverquerque*, to
" aquaint you that he was of the ſame Opinion
" with me, that the Opportunity we had was too
" fair to be let ſlip: But, however, I have ſub-
" mitted, tho' with a great deal of Regret. I
" ſhall ſpeak this Day to the Deputies and M. *d'*
" *Auverquerque*, that they may give the neceſſary
" Orders for the Attack of *Lewe*, and to continue
" the demoliſhing of the Lines." His Grace con-
cludes with theſe remarkable Words: " My Heart
" is ſo full, that I cannot forbear repreſenting
" on this Occaſion, to your High Mightineſſes,
" that I have much leſs Authority here, than
" when I had the Honour to command your
" Troops laſt Year in *Germany*."

Field Marſhal *d' Auverquerque*; tho' the Duke declares he was of the ſame Opinion with himſelf; *Extract* did not think fit, it ſeems, openly to avow it, when *from M.* the Project was laid aſide. We had made *ſays* d' Auver-
" *he*, a Detatchment of 20 Battalions and 20 Squa- querque's
" drons, to attack the Right Wing of the Enemy *Letter.*
" in Flank, thro' the Wood of *Soignies*, at the
" ſame Time we ſhould begin to attack them in
" Front: But that Detatchment, commanded by
" General *Churchill*, was obliged to rejoin the
" Army in the Evening, having found it impoſ-
" ſible to march that Way, becauſe of the Trees
" the Enemy had cut down to make the Roads
" unpaſſable. Our Generals went twice, the Day
" we came, to view all the Poſts from the End
" of the Line to the other, whereby they might
" be attacked, and found them of ſo difficult
" Acceſs, that they unanimouſly reported to me,
" as their Sentiment, that the Enterprize was nei-
" ther adviſcable nor practicable; whereupon it

" was

1705 " was reſolved to retire, which we did, in ſo
" good Order, that the Enemy did not think fit
" to attack our Rear."

From that of the Field Deputies. But the Field-Deputies, at the ſame Time that they give their Reaſons for diſapproving this Enterpriſe, own that their Chief General thought otherwiſe than themſelves. " All the Enemies
" Forces, *they tell the States*, were advantageouſly
" poſted; and beſides, according to the Report of
" three Generals, who had been to view them,
" there was no Ground fit for ourHorſe to march.
" We did not think fit to attempt the Paſſage,
" without firſt hearing the Opinion of the Gene-
" rals, all of whom we found, except M. *d'Auver-*
" *querque*, unanimouſly agreed, that it was an Af-
" fair of the laſt Conſequence to attack the Ene-
" my in the ſaid Poſt, and might be of great
" Danger to the State and Common Cauſe. The
" Reaſons they gavewere, That the Enemy could
" not be attacked without Abundance of Danger
" and Diſadvantage on our Side; and that in
" Caſe we ſhould receive any Diſaſter, we ſhould
" find ourſelves in very troubleſome Circum-
" ſtances, becauſe, being ſo far advanced into the
" Enemy's Country, we had neither Towns nor
" Hoſpitals for our Wounded, ſo that theEnemies
" might in ſuch Caſe very eaſily cut off our
" Convoys of Proviſions. Beſides, the above-
" mentioned Generals were of Opinion, that the
" Affairs of the High Allies, and of our Repub-
" lick, were not yet in ſuch a Condition, as to
" undertake ſuch a deſperate Enterprize. My
" Lord *Marlborough*, as well as M *d'Auver-*
" *querque*, was indeed of Opinion, that theThing
" was practicable; but we could not think of
" giving our Conſent, in an Affair of ſo great
" Importance, againſt the Mind of all the other
" Generals of the Army."

And from General Saliſh. General *Saliſh*, in his Letter to M. *Fagel*, is yet more particular as to the Difficulty of this Enterpriſe.

priſe. " The Enemy he writes, had poſted them- 1705
" ſelves very advantageouſly behind the River
" *Iſche*, having the Wood of *Soignies* on their *And from*
" Right and the *Dyle*, on the other Side of *Nether General*
" *Iſche*, on their Left. They had fortified all Saliſh.
" the Avenues, and were ſtill very hard at Work
" at the Village of *Upper Iſche*, and other Emi-
" nences, erecting Batteries, and making Cou-
" pures: In a Word, we found, them poſted in
" that Manner, that it was not poſſible to attack
" them without expoſing our whole Army, which
" would have been obliged to climb a high Hill
" full of Hedges and Shrubs, as alſo to paſs the
" ſaid River; for which Reaſon the Generals,
" having well viewed the Ground every where,
" reſolved to repaſs the *Lane*, which we did ac-
" cordingly."

As this was the greateſt Inſtance of Miſunder- *Reflexions*
ſtanding that ever happened among the Generals *on this*
of the Allies, I have endeavoured to do Juſtice to *Affair.*
both Parties, by inſerting what they had to urge. But then we are to conſider, as we go along, of how much greater weight the Opinion of his Grace, as remarkable for his great Caution and Foreſight, as for any other Quality of a General, and M. *d'Auverquerque*, who adjuſted his Meaſures by the Experience of above 50 Campaigns, ought to be in a Matter of this Nature, than the Opinion of three or four timerous Stateſmen, and half a Score junior Officers. It is certain their High Mightineſſes thought in this Way, becauſe they inſtantly removed thoſe Perſons of whom his Grace complained. Thus the ill Conſequences that ſome were afraid of, were happily prevented by the Wiſdom of that Senate, who were ſenſible that Unity and Concord were the only Cement of the Grand Alliance. The Emiſſaries of *France* were big with Hopes of theſe miſunderſtandings, and fomented them with all imaginable induſtry: But they ſaw themſelves diſappointed, and that the little Evil

1705 which had happened was productive of Good to the Allies, as it prevented the Tying-up his Grace's Hands any more in that Manner.

SoutLewe *taken.* The Projects of the Duke of *Marlborough* being thus disappointed, the Army marched towards *Tirlemont*, and a Detachment was made under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Dedem* to besiege *Sout-Lewe*, a little place situated on a Morass, and the chief Defence of the Enemies Lines. The Place was invested the 29th of *August*, and the Garrison surrendered the 5th of *September* Prisoners of War, to the Number of 400 Men. They found in the Place 18 Pieces of Cannon, 2 Mortars, a good Quantity of Ammunition, with 1800 Sacks of Meal. The Governor surrendered before the Batteries began to fire, upon a Declaration of the *Dutch* General, that if they deferred it any longer, they should be allowed no Quarter. This Place being of great Importance for hindering the *French* from repairing their Lines, the Allies provided it with a good Garrison.

His Grace, after this Success, ordered the Lines of the Enemy to be levelled from *Waseiger* to *Sout-Lewe*, and *Tirlemont* to be dismantled; and then, having passed the *Demer*, encamped at *Arschot*. The Enemy quitted, upon his Approach, their old Lines between that River and the *Nethe*, and retired into the new Ones between those Rivers, wherein they could not be attacked. His Grace continued for some Days at *Arschot*, to give Time to begin and carry on the Fortifications of *Diest*, *Hasselt*, *Tongeren*, and some other Places, in which he designed to put strong Garrisons the following Winter the Army marched towards *Herenthal* and *Turnhout*, where M. *Buis*, Pensionary of *Amsterdam*, waited on his Grace on the Part of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and had a long Conference with him. His Grace set out a few Days after for the *Hague*, and left the Army under the Command of M. *d' Auverquerque*.

The Duke goes to the Hague.

querque, The Generals made, in the mean Time, Preparations for the Siege of *San Vliet*. 1705

After ſeveral Conferences held with the Penſionary, it was agreed his Grace ſhould ſet out for *Vienna*, to preſs the Pacification of the Troubles in *Hungary*, which was ſtill obſtructed by the ſame Perſons, who by their Exactions gave the firſt Occaſion to the Breach. The Earl of *Sunderland* was gone thither before, to join Mr. *Stepney*, as Mediators on the Part of her *Britannick* Majeſty, to heal this Wound, which, by drawing off the Imperial Troops to that Side, proved ſo fatal to the Grand Alliance. Theſe Miniſters having hitherto done little, and it being of the utmoſt Importance, if poſſible, to expedite the Affair, every one agreed, that if the Influence of his Grace, equally revered as a Stateſman and a General, could not produce the deſired Change of Meaſures in the Court of *Vienna*, it would be in vain to expect it, and ſtruggle with inſuperable Difficulties. The *Engliſh*, knowing that all Nations are to be governed by their own Laws, and being ſenſible that ſomething contrary thereto had occaſioned, under the Reign of the Emperor *Leopold*, the unhappy Troubles in *Hungary*, generouſly interpoſed their Mediation to appeaſe thoſe Differences; which they would not have done, if they had thought that the *Hungarians* had taken up Arms without Cauſe, and rebelled againſt their Sovereign. *Caſe of the Hungarians.*

Beſides this Reſolution taken at the *Hague*, the Emperor had earneſtly deſired that the Duke of *Marlborough* would repair to his Court, as well to concert the Operations of the next Campaign, as to adjuſt theſe Differences, and ſeveral other Affairs of the higheſt Importance. His Grace accordingly ſet out from the Grand Army in *Brabant*, (whither he was returned from the *Hague*) and being arrived at *Frankfort*, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* met him there. The two Princes had ſe- *His Grace goes to Vienna.*

1705 veral Conferences in the Preſence of M. *Gelder-malſen*, Plenipotentiary of the States, who entertained their Highneſſes at Dinner, with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality. The Interview of theſe two great Men was narrowly obſerved; but, notwithſtanding ſome Inſinuations of the Emiſſaries of *France*, as if the *Britiſh* General had ſuſpected the *German* of Infidelity, nothing appeared between them but all imaginable Tokens of Friendſhip and good Correſpondence.

While his Grace was upon this Journey, a Detachment was made from the Grand Army, under Count *Noyelles*, (according to a Reſolution before taken) to beſiege *Santvliet*, a ſtrong fort near the *Schelde*. The Trenches were opened in the Night between the 26th and 27th of *October*, and carried on the next Day into the very Counterſcarp, which the Enemy abandoned. The ſame Day the Artillery began to fire againſt the Place, in order to make a Breach, and the 29th, at Five o'Clock in the Evening, they beat a Parley, Hoſtages being exchanged as uſual, they demanded to march out with the common Marks of Honour; but upon the Count's refuſing thoſe Conditions they ſurrendered, at 11 at Night, Priſoners of War. The Baggage of the Officers was conducted to *Antwerp*, and they were allowed to wear their Swords. The Sick and Wounded, who were not in a Condition to be tranſported, were allowed to continue in the Place till they were cured, and then to rejoin the Priſoners. The Garriſon conſiſted of the Regiment of *Mally*, and 400 Grenadiers, without including the Men belonging to the Artillery.

Santvliet *taken*

Dieſt *ſurprized.*

This little Loſs was in ſome Sort made up to the *French*, by a new Acquiſition. While the Allies were employed in the Siege of *Santvliet*, the Enemy made a Detachment to ſurprize *Dieſt*; and the Place, not being in a Poſture of Defence the Garriſon ſurrendered the 26th of the ſame Month, and had the ſame Conditions as that of *Santvliet*. It

conſiſted

consisted of 4 Battalions and a Regiment of Dragoons, and was commanded by Brigadier *Gaudacker*, who wrote a long Letter to the States in his own Vindication, complaining of the Hardship of being put, after 34 Years of Service, to hold a Place that was not tenable, and that too without any Artillery. He throws the Blame of it on M. d'*Auverquerque*, and the Field Deputies, to whom he had often set forth his Condition. 1705

The Duke of *Marlborough* arrived at *Vienna* the 12th of *November*, by Water from *Ratisbon*, and was received at his Landing by the Earl of *Sunderland* and Mr. *Stepney*, who conducted him to the House of the Prince of *Longueval*. His Grace had the next Day his Audience of their Imperial Majesties and the Archdutchesses, and the two following Days received and returned several Visits The 16th, he had a Conference with the Prince of *Salms*, and other Publick Ministers, at which the Emperor was present; and the same Evening was along while in Conversation with his Imperial Majesty, and the Empress-Consort. His Grace was afterwards seized with a Fit of the Gout, which confined him three Days to his Chamber; and, during that Time, was visited by all Persons of the greatest distinction in that City. The 19th, the Earl of *Sunderland*, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from her Majesty of *Great Britain*, had his Audience of Leave of the Emperor and Empress, and the next Day of the Empress-Dowager and the Archdutchesses. His Lordship was presented by his Imperial Majesty with his Picture set with Diamonds. The 22d, the Duke of *Marlborough* went to see the famous Chamber of Rarities, where the Emperor was pleased to meet him, and in a very obliging Manner presented him with a Ring of considerable Value. The same Evenning his Grace had his Audiences of Leave of all the Imperial Family, and the 23d began his Journey back, accompanied by the Earl of *Snnderland*.

The Duke's Reception at Vienna.

1705 His Imperial Majesty, in Consideration of the signal Services done by his Grace to the *Austrian* Family, and to the Empire, was pleased to make him an actual Grant of the Territory of *Mindelheim* in *Suabia*, not far from *Augsburg*, lately possessed by Duke *Maximilian*, Uncle to the then Elector of *Bavaria*; and a Patent was ordered to pass the Seal for erecting this Fief into a Principality, agreeable to the Title conferred on him the Year before by the Emperor *Leopold*. In Consequence of this, his Grace was distinguished for the future, throughout the Empire, by the Stile and Title of Prince of *Mildeheim*, His Grace, during his Stay at *Vienna*, received the greatest Marks of Honour and Esteem. The Court would have defrayed his Expences, and the Prince of *Dietrichstein*'s Palace had been fitted up for his Reception; but his Grace was pleased to decline it.

The Emperor makes him a Grant of the Principality of Mindelheim.

Our Hero returned with so much Honour, and the Manner of his Reception every where was so magnificent, that I cannot forbear continuing this Journal. His Imperial Majesty had ordered Horses to be ready at every Stage at his own Charges, and several Officers of his Court were sent before, to get all Things in a Readiness, that nothing might retard the Journey of my Lord Duke and the Earl of *Sunderland*. They took the Rout of *Berlin*, with three Coaches and two Waggons; and, as they found six fresh Horses for each at every Stage, they travelled with an extraordinary Speed, notwithstanding the Season of the Year. The first Day they came to *Sclovitz*, a Castle belonging to Count *Zinzendorf*, who came thus far with them from *Vienna*, and treated his Grace and his Lordship with great Magnificence. The 24th they dined at *Wisbaw*, a place belonging to the Bishop of *Olmutz* and *Osnabrug*, Brother to the Duke of *Lorrain*; and the Officers of his Highness had prepared a noble Dinner in the Palace. After this,

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they continued their Journey to *Olmutz*, and lay that Night in a noble Palace of the ſaid Prince, which is very richly furniſhed. The Envoy of his Highneſs was come Poſt from *Vienna*, to receive his Grace and his Lordſhip to a ſplendid Entertainment at Supper; during which, the Room was crowded with People of the beſt Quality, and others, every body preſſing in to ſee the *Preſerver and Diliverer of the Empire*, as they ſtiled his Grace. The 25th they lay at *New Staddle*, lodging in a Houſe belonging to Colonel *Schmettau*, whoſe Servants had prepared a handſome Supper, by order of their Maſter. In all the Towns and Cities their Lordſhips went through, the Burghers and Garriſons were drawn up in Arms, and beat their Drums as his Grace went by, at the Emperor's ſpecial Order. 1705

The 26th they lay at *Breſlau*, the Capital of *Sileſia*, and one of the nobleſt Towns in *Germany*. Their Lordſhips were lodged at Colonel *Schmettau*'s own Houſe, who was come on purpoſe from *Vienna* to receive them, and gave them a magnificent Entertainment. The Magiſtrates came in their Formalities to compliment his Grace, and made him the uſual Preſents of the Place; as they did likewiſe to Lord *Sunderland*. The 28th they lay at a ſmall Town called *Granberg*, which is the laſt Place in the Imperial Territories. The Officers of the Emperor were ordered to take their Leave here; but his Grace deſired them to go to *Croſſen*, the next Stage, from whence they were diſmiſſed with handſome Preſents. The 29th his Grace arrived in the Dominions of the King of *Pruſſia*, and met there with Horſes appointed by order of his Majeſty, and a Commiſſary to wait upon him as far as *Berlin* They arrived that Day at *Frankfort on the Oder*, where the Magiſtrates complimented his Grace, and made him the uſual Preſent of Wine. The 30th they arrived at *Berlin*, having been met by 12 of the King's own Horſes, *The Duke ſaluted* Deliverer of the Empire.

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His Reception at the Court of Prussia.

My Lord Duke went the same Night to Court, and had a Conference with the King of *Prussia*. The next Day he presented the Earl of *Sunderland* to his Majesty, the Prince Royal, and the King's two brothers, who all received his Lordship with all imagined Marks of Esteem. They saw the King at Dinner, with the Royal Family, and after a short Stay there, their Lordships went to dine with Lord *Raby*, Embassador from her Majesty of *Great-Britain*. The same Day his Grace supped with his Majesty, the Prince Royal, and the Margraves, and dined with them the next Day at the Great Chamberlain's. He had the next Day a long Conference with his Majesty, and renewed for one Year longer the Treaty for 8000 Men to be employed in *Italy*, which his Majesty promised to recruit, and to send 3 Battalions in the Room of the horse he had recalled.

Having settled that Affair, and adjusted some other Difficulties, his Grace set out from *Berlin* the 3d of *December* in the Evening, very well satisfied with the Success of his Negotiations, and the Honours that had been paid him at the Court of *Berlin*, where he was complimented by the Imperial Resident with the Title of Prince of *Mindelheim*, by order of his Master. His Grace and the Earl of *Sunderland* were attended to the Frontiers of the Territories of the King of *Prussia*, on this Side, with the same Ceremonies that had been observeed before, and received in like manner in those of the Elector of *Hanover*. They arrived there the 6th, and his Grace lodged at the house of General *Bulau*, which had been prepared for his Reception. Lord *Sunderland* was received at another House, belonging to one of the chief Of-

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And to the Hague.

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Thus ended the 4th Year of a War, which, tho' it was the moſt difficult the Allies ever had to maintain, was the only Remedy they had left in the imminent Danger with which *Europe* was threatened. While having *Spain* for an Ally, they employed their joint Force in the former Wars, to prevent or repel the Evil they feared, they found the Weakneſs of their Efforts prolonged the Conteſt; and for want of exerting timely their full Strength, Things were brought to that Extremity, that had not Heaven ſent a great Revolution in

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1705 *England*, it would have been impoſſible for them to ſave themſelves. But ſince, by Means of a Sham-Peace, *France* became Maſter of the Monarchy of *Spain*, they could hope for no Safety but from redoubled Efforts, favoured by the Divine Protection.

The Defeat of the *French* at *Blenheim*, the Taking of *Landau*, *Triers*, *Traerbach*, and ſeveral other Poſts on the *Moſelle*, and the Suppreſſion of a Rebellion in *Bavaria*, were ſuch real Advantages, as gave juſt Cauſe to hope, that the following Campaign, in the Year 1705, would be attended even with greater Succeſſes; but the Event did not prove anſwerable to Expectation. The *French*, whoſe beſt Troops were either killed or taken Priſoners, and whoſe Cavalry was almoſt all diſmounted, found Means to repair their Loſſes, and bring vaſt Armies into the Field, notwithſtanding thoſe Difficulties, and their Scarcity of Money, which obliged them to ſtop the Caſh, and give Paper in lieu of the Species. They neglected, indeed, nothing to retrieve their Loſſes: But yet their Diligence was not the only, nor the chief Cauſe of the Diſappointments of the Allies. Thoſe who have read the foregoing Pages, will have no need to look towards the Conſtellations in Heaven, and the Conjunction of the Planets, to find it out. The Affairs of the Confederacy, however, were far from going backwards, as the Reader may ſee by adding the following Particulars to the Actions of the Duke of *Marlborough*.

State of the War in Italy.

Verrua, after a brave Defence of 6 Months together, was ſurrendered for want of Proviſions, and the *French* paid for a Rock, and the Ruins of ſome Fortifications, above 20 Millions of Livres, and ſacrificed the Lives of more than 12,000 Men. The long Reſiſtance of that Place broke all their Meaſures, and the Duke of *Vendome* was not able to beſiege *Turin*, as he intended, before the Arrival of Prince *Eugene* obliged him to march to the

Defence

Defence of the *Milaneſe*. They were ſtill more unfortunate before *Gibraltar*, and the Marſhal *de Teſſe*, who commanded the *French* and *Spaniſh* Forces, before that Place, had the Mortification to raiſe the Siege, after having ſeen the Flower of his Army periſh in that long Enterpriſe. Three Men of War of Monſieur *Ponti*'s Squadron were taken, and that Admiral forced to run his own Ship a-ground with another, and ſet them on Fire themſelves; without mentioning the loſs of four Frigates, which they had been forced to burn themſelves, upon Sir *John Leake*'s coming into the Bay of *Gibraltar*, towards the latter End of the Year. 1705

Eight Touſand *Pruſſians* having marched into *Italy*, according to the Treaty concluded with the Court of *Berlin* by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and 4000 *Palatines* being ordered the ſame Way, Prince *Eugene* ſet out for the Imperial Army in the *Veroneſe*, and attempted to paſs the *Mincio*. This proving impracticable in Sight of the *French* Army, his Highneſs was obliged to ſend his Infantry over the Lake *de là Guarda* to *Salo*, and the Cavalry marched about the ſaid Lake to *Gavardo*. The Grand Prior of *France* obſerved narrowly the Motions of the *Germans*; but Prince *Eugene* proved too vigilant for him, and gained a Day's March, whereby he advanced to the Banks of the *Oglio*, paſſed that River, took *Soncino*, *Palazzuolo*, *Ponte Oglio*, and ſeveral other Poſts; which obliged the Duke of *Vendome* to leave the *French* Army in *Piedmont*, under the Command of the Duke of *La Feuillade*, and march in Perſon to defend the Paſſage of the *Adda*. Prince *Eugene* made ſeveral Feints to draw the Enemy to an Engagement, and at laſt attacked them near *Caſſano*, where, notwithſtanding they had the Advantage of the Ground, he obtained a conſiderable Advantage. This obliged the Duke of *Vendome* to recall ſome Forces from *Piedmont*, whereby the Army under M. *de la Feuillade*,

1705 *illade*, which had taken *Chivazzo*, was too much weakened to undertake the Siege of *Turin*, before which Place they were encamped near a Month, and had made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions. They flattered themſelves to fright the Duke of *Savoy* into a ſeparate Treaty: But that Prince being Proof againſt all their tempting Promiſes, and haughty Menaces, the Duke of *La Feuillade* was obliged to retire towards *Caſal*; from whence he marched to retake *Aſti*, which the *French* had abandoned by Miſtake, and from whence he was forced to retire with great Loſs. Prince *Eugene* ſeeing the Seaſon ſo far advanced, that the Enemy could make no further Attempt againſt *Turin*, repaſſed the *Oglio*, and returned towards *Gavardo*, whereupon the Duke of *Vendome* marched to *Caſtiglione della Stivere* to ſecure the *Mantuan*. Thus far the Affairs of *Italy* had a tolerable Aſpect for the Allies.

Loſſes of the Duke of Savoy.

On the other Hand, as the *French* were reſolved to ſpare nothing for reducing the Duke of *Savoy*, they took *Villa Franca* in the Beginning of the Spring, and obliged the Town of *Nizza* to ſurrender: But they did not think fit to attack the Citadel, and having blown up the Fortifications of the Town, withdrew their Troops from thence. However, the Taking of that Place being abſolutely neceſſary for reducing the Duke of *Savoy*, and to hinder him from receiving any Succour by Sea, the Duke of *Berwick* marched thro' *Languedoc* to beſiege it, at the very ſame Time that *Barcelona* ſurrendered to the Allies. In fine, the Governor of *Nizza* was obliged to ſurrender the 4th of *January*. And the Fortreſs of *Monmellian*, which had been blocked up for two Years together ſurrendered the 11th of *December*.

Affairs in Portugal.

The Forces of the Allies in *Portugal* were not ſo ſucceſsful as had been expected. However they took *Salvaterra* and *Marvan*, and wreſted from the Enemy *Valencia d'Alcantara* and *Albuquerque*:

And

and had not the Earl of *Gallway* had the Misfortune to have his Right Hand ſhot off by a Cannon-Ball before *Badajox*, that Place too, in all likelihood, would have been taken. If their Succeſs on that Side fell ſhort of the Expectation of the Allies, the Taking of *Barcelona*, and the reducing of the whole Principality of *Catalonia* under the Obedience of King *Charles*, exceeded their Hopes. We will but juſt mention the perpetual Endeavours of the Queen and the States, to pacify the Troubles in *Hungary*, having hinted at thoſe Things before. The Death of the Emperor *Leopold* ſeemed to render an Accommodation more practicable; but after all the Efforts of the Maritime Powers, nothing more was done than to ſign a Ceſſation of Arms, and leave the Points in Debate to future Conferences. 1705 *In* Spain.

The Imperial and *French* Armies on the *Rhine* having been in Sight ſeveral Times, and drawn up in Battalia, it was expected there would have happened an Action. But the Marſhal *de Villars* having had Advice of the Approach of 10 Battalions, and 20 Squadrons, of the Troops of the King of *Pruſſia*, to reinforce the Army of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, that General thought fit, the 13th of *September* in the Night, to decamp in great Secrecy, and retire towards *Straſburgh*. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, being reinforced by theſe Troops, likewiſe decamped the next Day from *Daudorp*, and came to *Wierſchiem*. The ſame Day 9 Squadrons and 9 Battalions, with a Detachment of Grenadiers, under the Command of the Count *de Friſe*, were ordered to beſiege *Druſenheim*. The Trenches were opened the 19th, and that Place was attacked with ſo much Vigour, that the Garriſon, conſiſting of 3 or 400 Men, ſurrendered the 24th Priſoners of War. There was found in the Place 400 Sacks of Meal, 4 ſmall Pieces of Cannon, 400 Muſkets, and 12 Barrels of Gunpowder. The 28th *Haguenau* was inveſted by a ſtrong Detachment *Upon the Rhine.*

1705 tachment, commanded by General *Thungen*, having under him the Generals *Erffa* and *Arnhein*. The Infantry of the King of *Prussia*, the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, were employed in that Siege, with 20 Squadrons. The Garrison made but a short Resistance; for they beat a Parley the 5th of *October*, and offered to surrender the Place upon Terms: But none being allowed them but to be Prisoners of War, they resolved to quit the Town in the Night, and retire to *Savern*. *Haguenau* not being invested on that Side, they had an Opportunity to do it: But the Prudence and Care of the *Germans* were not much to be commended. They little expected the Garrison would take that resolution, and the Dissatisfaction Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* expressed on that Subject, was very justifiable. This was the Situation of the War at the End of the Year 1705.

1706 *The Duke of* Marlborough *confers with the Deputies of the States.*

The Forces of the States were ordered to canton by the Middle of *April*, and towards the latter End they begun to form a Camp near *Tongeren*, where they expected the Junction of the *English*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, being arrived in *Holland*, was daily in Conference with the Deputies of the States, to concert the Operations of the Campaign, the Projects of which were kept with an unusual Secrecy. The Affairs of *Italy* were the chief Matter of these Conferences, and *England* and *Holland* resolved to do their utmost to assist the Duke of *Savoy*. The Duke of *Marlborough* more concerned for the Common Cause than for his own Reputation, proposed to go in Person to the Support of that Prince, or to stand on the Defensive Part in the *Netherlands*, in order to send a greater Body of Forces into *Italy*. But the States, fearing they should be exposed by his Absence, prevailed with him to stay in *Flanders*, and continue the main Stress of the War on that Side.

The

The Army of the States began to encamp near *Tongeren* the Beginning of *May*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* and M. *d'Auverquerque* ſet out the 9th from the *Hague* for *Maeſtricht*, where they arrived the 12th. The *Dutch* General went the ſame Day to the Camp, and the next his Grace arrived there to review the Troops. Mean time the *Engliſh* Troops were ordered to march from their Quarters to join the Army. They arrived at *Bilſen* the 20th, and on the 21ſt joined the *Dutch* between *Borkloen* and *Gros Warem*. The 22d the *Danes* in the Service of *England* and *Holland* alſo joined the Army; and the *French*, confiding in their Superiority, came out of their Lines about the ſame Time, and encamped between *Tirlemont* and *Judoigne*. This occaſioned that memorable Action on the 23d, ſince called the Battle of *Ramillies*. The following Account of it, given by Colonel *Richards*, Aid-de-Camp to the Duke of *Marlborough*, with what we ſhall add to it from other Relations, may give a full Idea of this glorious Victory. 1706 *The Forces join.*

"On *Saturday* the 22d Inſtant, the Confederate Army decamped from *Borkloen*, and marched to *Gros Warem*. The *Daniſh* Troops came up with our Rear, and encamped at a ſmall Diſtance from us. Here we had Advice, that the Enemy, being joined by the Horſe of Marſhal *Marſin*'s Army, and depending on the Superiority of their Numbers, were lately come out of their Lines, and had made a Motion, putting their Right towards *Judoigne*. *Col.* Richard's *Relation of the Battle* lies.

My Lord Duke, and M. *d'Auverquerque*, relying upon the Goodneſs of their Troops, reſolved to advance towards the Enemy; and accordingly on *Sunday* the 23d, about Three in the Morning, the Army marched in 8 Columns towards *Ramillies*, a Villiage where the *Cheete* takes its Source, that we might avoid the Inconveniency of paſſing

that

1706 that River. Being advanced near the ſaid Village, we found the Enemy getting into the Camp of Mount *St. André*, and placing their Right to the *Mehaigne*. This River flows about half a League from *Ramillies*, the Ground between them being open and level: The *Gheete* runs from *Ramillies* to *Autregliſe*, through a marſhy Ground; and beyond *Autregliſe* the River grows wide, and the Ground is unpaſſable.

Situation of the Armies

The Enemy had poſted a Brigade of Foot next to the *Mehaigne*, and filled the Space betwixt that and *Ramillies* with upward of 100 Squadrons, among which were the Troops of the *French* King's Houſhold. At *Ramillies* they had about 20 Battalions of Foot, with a Battery of about 12 Pieces of treble Cannon: From thence to *Autregliſe* they had formed a Line of Foot along the *Gheete*, with a Line of Horſe at ſome Diſtance behind them.

His Grace judging, by the Situation of the Ground, that the Streſs of the Action would be on our Left, ordered, that beſides the Proportion of Horſe belonging to that Wing, the *Daniſh* Squadrons, being 20 in Number, ſhould alſo be poſted there. It was about Two in the Afternoon before our Army could be formed in Order of Battle,

The Attack begun.

and then we began the Attack on our Left with 4 Battalions, which puſhed the Brigade of Foot above mentioned from their Poſt on the *Mehaigne*. M. *d'Averquerque*, about the ſame Time, charged with the Horſe of that Wing. The Succeſs was doubtful for about half an Hour; which the Duke of *Marlborough* perceiving, ordered the reſt of the Horſe of the Right Wing, (except the *Engliſh*, who were 17 Squadrons) to ſupport thoſe on the Left.

The Duke in great Danger.

Here, while his Grace was rallying ſome, and giving his Orders for others to charge, he was in very great Danger, being ſingled out by ſeveral of the Reſoluteſt of the Enemy: And falling from his Horſe

Horſe at the ſame Time, he had either been killed or taken Priſoner, if ſome of our Foot that were near at hand had not come very ſeaſonably to his Aſſiſtance, and obliged the Enemy to retire. After this, my Lord Duke had ſtill a greater Eſcape, a Cannon-Ball having taken off Colonel *Bringfield*'s Head as he was remounting his Grace. 1706

The Village of *Ramillies* was attacked by a Detachment of 12 Battalions of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant General *Schultz*, which entered at once with great Vigour and Reſolution. His Grace haſtened our Line of Foot thither to ſupport them; which, tho' it was at a great Diſtance, yet came up ſoon enough to beat the Enemy quite out of the Village, and at the ſame Time charge the reſt of th eir Foot that were poſted behind the *Gheete*, as above mentioned; and my Lord Duke ordered the *Engliſh* Horſe to ſupport them.

By this Time the Enemy's Right Wing of Horſe being entirely defeated, the Horſe of our Left fell upon the Foot on their Right, of whom they ſlew great Numbers, cutting to Pieces about 20 of their Battalions. whoſe colours they took, and likewiſe their Cannon. The reſt of the Enemy's Foot were entirely broke. The Horſe of their Left Wing ſeemed to make a Stand, to gain Time for their Foot to retire; but were charged ſo quick, and with ſo much Bravery, by the *Engliſh* Horſe, that they entirely abandoned the Foot; and our Dragoons puſhing into the Village of *Autregliſe*, made a terrible Slaughter of them. The *French* King's own Regiment of Foot, called the *Regiment du Roy*, begged for Quarter, and delivered up their Arms and Colours to the Lord *John Hay*'s Dragoons. *The Enemy routed.*

We purſued the Enemy all Night, by the Way of *Judoigne*, as far as *Maldre*, being 5 Leagues from the Place where the Action happened, and 2 from *Louvain*. There the Author of this Nar- *Purſued 5 Leagues.*

rative

1706 rative left the Army, on *Monday* Night the 24th, preparing to march ſo early as to be at the *Dyle* the next Morning by break of Day; and to ſecure the Paſs of *Neder Yſche*, which would give his Grace an Opportunity of further improving this great and glorious Succeſs.

Thus we gained an entire and compleat Victory, that, next to the Bleſſing of God upon the Juſtice of our Cauſe, muſt be aſcribed to the great Courage, Prudence and Vigilance of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was perſonally preſent in the hotteſt of the Action, giving his Orders with wonderful Sedateneſs and Preſence of Mind. M. *d'Auverquerque* acted with the Valour and Conduct becoming a great General: The reſt of our Generals likewiſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves; and all our Troops, both Officers and Soldiers, fought with the greateſt Bravery and Reſolution.

Loſs of the Enemy. A right Judgment could not be made of the exact Number of the Slain, by reaſon we did not ſtay on the Field of Battle; but the Enemy are generally ſuppoſed to have had about 8000 Men killed, among whom are numbered the Prince *de Monbazon*, and another called Prince *Maximilian*, with divers other Perſons of Note. We took about 6000 Priſoners, among whom are two Major-Generals; two Brigadier-Generals; a Son of the Marſhal *de Tallard*; a Nephew of the Duke of *Luxemburg*; a Nephew of the late Lord *Clare*, and ſeveral other Officers of Diſtinction, whoſe Names are not yet known. We have likewiſe taken all their Artillery, all the Baggage they had with them, and their Bread-Waggons, beſides a great Number of Colours, Standards, and Kettle-drum: And a great Part of their heavy Baggage, which they had ſent away before the Action, was alſo ſeized by our Troops at *Judoigne*. This Army conſiſted of the beſt of the Enemy's Forces, particularly the *Gendarms*, and others of the *French* King's

King's Houſhould, which are entirely ruined."— 1706
Thus far the Colonel's Relation.

In the Account publiſhed by order of the States, we have the following Particulars: —— "All Things being diſpoſed, it was reſolved to attack the Village of *Ramillies*, which was the Enemy's principal Poſt. In order to that, 20 Pieces of Cannon, 24 Pounders, were brought up; and 12 Battalions, who were to be ſupported by the whole Line, were commanded for that Attack. About Two in the Afternoon the Cannon began to play againſt the Enemy. Four Battalions were, at the ſame Time, detached to diſlodge them from the Valley of *Taviers*, where they had poſted 6 Battalians to cover their Right Wing; our Left Wing not being able to puſh on any further, before the Taking of that Poſt. Hereupon the Enemy cauſed ſome Dragoons to advance to ſupport the 6 Battalions. All the Horſe of the Left Wing of the Confederate Army marched likewiſe to attack the Enemy's Right, which advanced at the ſame Time towards them. It was then that the Fight began with a great deal of Fury, and continued with great Obſtinacy, till the Horſe of our Left Wing had gained Ground enough to attack the Enemy in Flank; whereupon they began to give way.

Account publiſhed by the States General.

Whilſt we were engaged on that Side, our Foot attacked likewiſe the Village of *Ramillies*, which was alſo forced about Four o'Clock, after a vigorous Reſiſtance. The Enemy endeavoured to retire from the Village; but being got out, they were broke, and entirely deſtroyed, or taken by our Horſe; whereupon their Army retired a large half League beyond the Village, where they drew up again in Order of Battle, behind a hollow Road, and ſome Hedges: But our Army having advanced between the *Yauſe* and the *Mehaigne*, and extended themſelves further in the Plain to renew the Attack, their right Wing retired immediately

further

1706 further off; and their Left Wing gave Ground likewiſe, before we could come up with them, as we wiſhed. The Enemy were afterwards purſued by the whole Army."

Extract from that of the Field Deputies.

"The Glory of this Action, ſay the *Dutch* Deputies in their Letter to the States-General, is ſo much the greater becauſe the Enemy were poſſeſſed of a very advantageous Poſt; and that, according to the Report of Priſoners, they were 76 Battalions, and 140 Squadrons ſtrong, including the *French* King's Houſhold: So that their Army was ſuperior in Number to that of the Allies. The Battle was fought for two Hours and a half with extream Eagerneſs and Fury, and our Troops ſuſtained a dreadful Fire; but by their Bravery and good Order they ſurmounted all Difficulties, and obtained a very great and glorious Victory over the Enemy."

Duke of Marlborough's *Letter to the States.*

Two Days after the Battle, the Duke of *Marlborough*, in a Letter to the States, tells them, "That "he thought fit to delay his Congratulations for "the Victory till that Day; that he might, at the "ſame Time, acquaint their High Mightineſſes "with the Succeſs of his Deſign of paſſing the "*Dyle*. We had reſolved, ſays he, to force our "Paſſage this Morning by Break of Day; but "the Enemy have ſaved us the Trouble, having "left us an open Field by their Retreat towards "*Bruſſels*; ſo that with a double Joy I give myſelf "the Honour to write this Letter to You from "*Louvain*, where I have a long Time wiſhed to "be, for the Good of the Common Cauſe. 'Tis "certain, that all the Generals, Officers, and "Soldiers, have done all that was poſſible for Men "to perform on that glorious Day; and their "Conduct and Bravery cannot be ſufficiently "praiſed. I have made choice of Colonel *Chanclos* "to carry this agreeable News to your High "Mightineſſes, both by reaſon of his Merit in "the laſt Campaign, and of his Services in this.

"He

" He will acquaint your High Mightineſſes with 1706
" the Particulars of all that has paſſed, and the
" preſent Poſture of the Enemy, whom we are
" reſolved to purſue."

The Paſſage of the *Dyle*, and the following Succeſſes, till the entire Reduction of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, are fully related in the ſubſequent Pieces. *The Paſſage of the Dyle*

"On *Monday* the 24th, (ſays a Narrative publiſhed by Captain *Pitt*,) the Duke, having ordered the Army to encamp at *Bavechien*, for the Refreſhment of the Troops, and diſpoſed all Things for their March the next Morning by break of Day, in order to force the Paſſage of the *Dyle*, received Advice in the Night, that the Enemy had quitted their Camp, and abandoned *Louvain*, being retired towards *Bruſſels*. Hereupon Bridges being laid over that River near *Louvain*, the Allies put a Detachment of 500 Men into that Town. The whole Army paſſed over the next Day, about Noon, and took the Camp of *Bethlem*, from whence they continued their March the 26th towards *Bruſſels*. His Grace ſoon had Notice, that the Enemy had likewiſe quitted that Place, and *Mechlin*, and were retired towards *Aloſt*. About Ten o'Clock his Grace had a Letter from the Marquis of *Deinſe*, Governor of *Bruſſels*, intimating, That the States of *Brabant* were deſirous to wait on him at ſuch Time as he ſhould appoint: Upon which the Duke ſent them a Compliment by Colonel *Panton*, in his own Name and that of the Deputies, lettin them know that he ſhould be glad to ſee them at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon. Accordingly there came a Deputation from the States of *Brabant*, another from the Sovereign Council, and a third from the Magiſtrates of the City. They all expreſſed great Satisfaction at the happy Succeſs of the Allies, and their Arrival in that Neighbourhood. His Grace wrote Letters to all the three Bodies, to invite them to conſider their own Intereſt, and to own their lawful Sovereign

King

1706 King *Charles* the Third. In the Evening the Magiſtrates of *Mechlin* came likewiſe to compliment his Grace, and make their Submiſſion. Colonel *Durell*, Adjutant-General, was ſent with a Detachment of 200 Horſe to take Poſſeſſion of that Town: The Governor of which ſtaid in the Place, and ſurrendered himſelf Priſoner. The Army encamped that Night at *Dighem*; and the next Morning continued its March, and, having paſſed the Canal, came to *Grimberg*. From thence the Duke ſent General *Churchill*, with 4 Battalions of Foot and 2 Squadrons of Horſe, to command in *Bruſſels*.

The Enemies Loſs appears more and more conſiderable.

The Retreat of the Enemy in ſuch Conſternation the great Number of Officers and Soldiers who were diſcovered to be Priſoners, and of thoſe who were left wounded in ſeveral Places through which they marched, together with their abandoning the whole Country, now made their Loſs much greater than it was at firſt thought to be. By the ſpeedy Purſuit of the Allies, the *French* were obliged to leave many wounded Officers at *Bruſſels*, who all became Priſoners of War; among others, the Count *de Horne*, Lieutenant-General; and the Earl of *Clare*, Major-General; the latter of whom died of his Wounds.

Submiſſion of the City of Bruſſels, *and the States of* Brabant.

The 27th, in the Evening, the Deputies, who were at the Camp the Day before, returned, and brough his Grace three ſeveral Inſtruments in due Form; one from the Three States, another from the Sovereign Council, and the third from the City of *Bruſſels*, owning King *Charles* III. as their lawful Sovereign; repeating likewiſe, in a moſt reſpectful Manner, the great Senſe they had of her Majeſty's Goodneſs, in relieving them, by her victorious Arms, from the Oppreſſions they had ſo long laboured under by the *French* Government. They likewiſe made their Acknowledgments to his Grace; and there ſeemed to be an univerſal Joy among the People. Several of the *Spaniſh* Troops

Troops likewiſe ſhewed a great Inclination for the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and declared, that the Animoſities between them and the *French* were grown to ſuch a Heighth, that it was impoſſible they ſhould act any longer in Conjunction. 1706

Lierre ſurrenders

The ſame Day, the Magiſtracy of *Lierre* ſent a Deputation to my Lord Duke, to make their Submiſſion, and deſire his Grace's Protection. The *French* retired to *Gavre* beyond *Ghent*, not above 24,000 ſtrong, and thoſe not half of them armed, having thrown down their Arms in their Flight. The Duke of *Marlborough* appointed a Day of Thankſgiving to be obſerved throughout the Army, to return Thanks to Almighty God for the glorious Victory wherewith Heaven had bleſt the Arms of her Majeſty and the States-General in the late Battle of *Ramillies*, and the wonderful Succeſſes which had ſince followed, in reducing ſo great a Country to the Obedience of his Catholick Majeſty King *Charles* III.

The Duke goes to Bruſſels.

The Duke having thought fit, after the great Fatigue the Troops had undergone in Purſuit of the Enemy, to give them two Days Repoſe at *Grimberg*; his Grace went the 28th in the Afternoon to *Bruſſels*. The chief Magiſtrates of the City met his Grace at the Gate, and preſented him with their Keys; which he returned, with repeated Aſſurances of her Majeſty's Protection: And, after having received the Compliments of the Nobility, who expreſſed at the ſame Time their Affection and Fidelity to King *Charles* III. his Grace returned in the Evening to the Camp; where he received Advice, that the Enemy, having carried away their Cannon and Ammunition from *Lierre*, had quitted that Place: Upon which his Grace, the Day following, ſent thither a Detachment of 200 Men to take Poſſeſſion of it. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* alſo was detached with 2000 Grenadiers, 1000 Horſe, and 6 Pieces of Cannon, to take Poſt at *Aloſt*.

The

1706 The 30th, the Army marched from *Grimberg* and encamped near *Aloſt*; the Duke of *Wirtemberg* advancing with his Detachment towards *Gavre*, with the Pontoons for laying Bridges over the *Scheld* near that Place, in order to intercept the Enemy's Retreat towards their own Frontiers: But as ſoon as they heard of the Motions of the Allies, they quitted their Camp between *St. Dennis* and *Ghent*, and marched, the 31ſt at 3 o'Clock, towards *Courtray*. His Grace had Advice of this upon the March; and that they had evacuated *Ghent*, leaving only a *Spaniſh* Battalion in the Caſtle, with the Prince of *Vintimille*, Governor of the Town. The Magiſtrates of *Ghent* came the ſame Day to compliment my Lord Duke, and make their Submiſſion: and a Letter arrived from the States-General to his Grace, in which, they expreſs themſelves thus. "Since your Glory, after "the Battles of *Sehellenberg*, *Hockſtedt* and *Ramillies*, "can receive no Addition by the Greatneſs of "your Victories, we deſire it may by their Num- "ber. We deſire you to believe, that the Eſteem "which we have for your Excellency's Perſon, "and rare Merit, cannot be greater."

Ghent *ſubmits.*

Letter from the Staes General to the Duke of Marlborough.

In the two following Anſwers, which his Grace returned, he gives an Account of the Tranſactions before *Ghent*.

Letters of the Duke.

"Yeſterday, *ſays he*, after our Arrival in this "Camp, in the Afternoon, the Magiſtrates of the "City came to make their Submiſſion, and we "have written to them, in Concert with Meſſieurs "the Deputies, a Letter to the ſame Effect, as "we did to the City of *Bruſſels*; and we doubt "not but they will follow their Example. The "Prince of *Vintimille*, Governor thereof, who has "been left in the Caſtle with a Battalion of *Spa-* "*niards*, had ſent to me Propoſals; but I am "perſuaded he will ſurrender, as well as the Mar- "quis *de Deinſe*, Governor of *Bruſſels*. We are "ſending a Detachment to *Bruges*, to receive their "Submiſſion;

" Submiſſion; and I have juſt now written two 1706
" Letters, one to the Marquis *de Terracina*, Go-
" vernor of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, wherein are
" 4 *Spaniſh* Battalions; and the other to the Ma-
" giſtrates, to exhort them to ſubmit. Quarter-
" Maſter General *Cadogan* is entruſted with thoſe
" Letters, from which I expect a good Succeſs."

This Letter was dated the firſt Day of *June*, 1706. In another, two Days after, his Grace *His ſecond* tells them: " That according to what he did
" himſelf the Honour to write to their High
" Mightineſſes, the Caſtle of *Ghent* was obliged
" to ſurrender the next Day; The *Spaniſh* Bat-
" talion, conſiſting of 400 Men, with the Colo-
" nel, the Marquis *de Los Rios*, and all the Of-
" ficers, being made Priſoners of War; but that
" all the Soldiers, except 50, declared for King
" *Charles*. The Summons, *ſays he*, we ſent to
" *Bruges*, and the Country of *Franeq*, has had the
" deſired Effect. The Magiſtrates came hither this Bruges
" Morning to make their Submiſſion, and acknow- *ſubmits.*
" iedged thir lawful Sovereign in due Form. We
" cauſed a Battalion of the Troops of *Flanders* to
" march thereinto, and another was ſent to *Damme*,
" which the Enemy had abanded: But what is
" more ſurpriſing ſtill, is, that having yeſterday
" cauſed *Oudenarde* to be ſummoned, and upon
" their Refuſal ordered that Day Lieutenant-Ge-
" neral *Scholten* to march thither with 7 Battalions.
" 4 Pieces of Cannon and 2 Mortars, the Gar-
" riſon, conſiſting of three Battalions, immediate-
" ly capitulated, and a *French* Battalion therein *As does*
" has obtained Leave to retire. The other 2 Oude-
" Battalions, being *Spaniards*, and the Governor, narde
" having declared for King *Charles*; and at this In-
" ſtant I am informed, that our Men have got into
" the Place. This Morning I received a Letter
" from Brigadier *Cadogan*, whom I had ſent to
" ſummon *Antwerp*, whereby it appears, that we
" had not been rightly informed of the Strength

1706 " of that Garriſon; ſince he informs me, that
" there are 5 *French*, and as many *Spaniſh* Batta-
" lions therein. However, he acquaints me, that
" theyſeem'ddiſpos'd to ſurrender upon honourable
" Terms; whereupon, having adviſed with Meſ-
" ſieurs the Deputies and M. *d'Auverquerque*, and
" conſidered the Importance of that Place, and
" how precious Time is to us, we have ſent a full
" Power to the Brigadier to grant them reaſonable
" Terms, of which we expect an Account to-
" morrow.

" The Hand of God appears viſibly in all this,
" ſtriking the Enemy with ſuch a Terror, as
" obliges them to deliver up ſo many ſtrong Pla-
" ces, and large Countries, without offering the
" leaſt Reſiſtance.

" This has encouraged me to ſummon the
" Towns of *Dendermonde* and *Oſtend*; and for that
" Purpoſe I have ſent Detachments with Letters
" for the Governors. We have made our Bridges,
" and the neceſſary Diſpoſitions to paſs the *Scheld*
" and the *Lys* to-morrow. I am informed, from
" M. *Scholten*, that the 3 Battalions of the Gar-
" riſon of *Oudenarde* are all marched away, the
" *French* to *Courtray*, and the other towards *Mons*."

The 4th the Army marched from *Marlebeck*, and having paſſed the *Scheld* and the *Lys*, came between *Deinſe* and *Nivelle*. The 5th they advanced to *Arzelle*, where they continued the 6th. That

And Antwerp. Day the Garriſon of *Antwerp* ſurrendered upon Articles; and 5 *French* and as many *Spaniſh* Battalions, in Garriſon there, obtained Leave to march out with all the Marks of Honour, and to be conducted to *Quesnoy*. They were to march out the 10th; which was accordingly executed. The Marquis *de Terracina*, Governor of the Citadel, declared for King *Charles*; and his Example was followed by a great many other Officers, and moſt of the Soldiers of the *Spaniſh* Nation. The

The 7th the Deputies of the States of *Flanders* attended my Lord Duke, and the Deputies of the States-General, with the Resolution they had taken the Day before in their Assembly at *Ghent*; which his Highness and their Excellencies approved. The Contents of it was, that they acknowledged King *Charles* for their lawful Sovereign, and prayed to be maintained in their Privileges. 1706 *The States of Flanders acknowledge King Charles.*

The Artillery not being come up, the Army was unable to undertake any thing for several Days My Lord Duke therefore took that Opportunity to make a Trip to the *Hague*, to confer with the States-General about the further Operations of War, and some other Matters of the highest Importance. He set out the 8th in the Morning, and arrived there the 9th. His Grace left the Army under the Command of M. *d'Auverquerque*, who made a Detachment to block up the Town of *Dendermonde*. My Lord Duke, having finished his Negotiations at the *Hague*, returned the 13th to the Army, having been received at *Antwerp* with extraordinary Marks of Respect. He was met at *Merxem*, two Leagues from *Antwerp*, by the Bishop of that City, attended by all the Clergy, both secular and regular, who assured his Grace of their inviolable Loyalty and Affection to King *Charles* III, and to the House of *Austria*; acknowledging, at the same time, his Grace to have been the glorious Instrument of their happy Deliverance from the Tyranny of *France*, under which they had laboured ever since the Death of King *Charles* II. The Margrave of *Antwerp*, with the Burgomasters, and the rest of the Magistrates, attended his Grace at some Distance from the City; where the first Pensionary, in the Name of the rest, made a Speech to the same Purpose as the Clergy had done before and presented his Grace the Keys of the Town; telling him, they had never been delivered up to any person since the Great Duke of *Parma*, and

His Grace goes to the Hague.

His Reception at Antwerp.

1706 that after a Seige of 12 Months. His Grace, at his Entry into the Town, was received with all the Honours and Ceremonies uſually paid to their Sovereign Princes; 150 of the principal Citizens going in proceſſion before the Coach his Grace was in, with lighted Flambeaux, to the biſhop's Palace, where he was ſplendidly entertained and lodged that Night. The Marquis *de Terracina*, Grandee of *Spain*, and Governor of the Citadel, declared for King *Charles* the Third, and waited on his Grace during the whole ſolemnity; and the Streets were crowded with infinite Numbers of People, continually repeating, with the greateſt Joy and Satisfaction imaginable, *Long live King* Charles *the Third*. When the Garriſon was to march out, according to the Capitulation, one *Spaniſh* and one *Walloon* Regiment ſtaid behind entire; and of the other Regiments of thoſe Countries there were ſcarce 150 left when they paſſed by *Bruſſels*, moſt of the Officers and Soldiers entering into the Service of the Catholick King; as did likewiſe the Marquis *de Winterfield*, Lieutenant General, and Governor of *Lierre*, who commanded the Garriſon in the City of *Antwerp*; and the Baron *de Vrangle*, a Major-General.

M. *d'Auverquerque* marched the 15th, with a Detachment, to form the Seiges of *Oſtend* and *Newport*; and Lieutenant General *Fagel* marched at the ſame time with another Body, and in the Evening took *Plaſſendael*, Sword in Hand. There were above 200 Men in the Town, under the Command of a Lieutenant Colonel, and ſome of them were put to the Sword. Thoſe Troops advanced and took the Bridge of *Santworde*, ſecuring thereby ſome Sluices. They marched the next Day to approach *Oſtend*, which was cloſely blocked up at Sea, by a Squadron under the Command of Sir *Stafford Fairborn*.

Plaſſendael *taken.*

Theſe Tranſactions in the *Netherlands* appear ſo glorious, from the Letters and other authentick Accounts

Accounts we have inſerted, that few Particulars can be added to them. We ſhall only take notice, that as all the Generals in the Battle of *Ramillies* gained a great deal of Honour, ſo all of them were expoſed to the greateſt Danger. My Lord Duke was unhorſed twice; and the firſt time Captain *Moleſworth*. one of his Aids-de Camp, was very inſtrumental in ſaving his Life. That Gentleman threw himſelf of his Horſe, remounted his Grace, and, tho' he was on Foot in the midſt of the Enemy, he had the good Fortune to eſcape. M. *d'Auverquerque* was in great Danger of his Life; for beſides the Dangers in the Fight, that are common to all, a *Bavarian* Officer, whoſe Life he had preſerved out of meer Generoſity, would have killed him, had not ſome of his Retinue prevented the Blow, and ſhot the Ruffian. One Thing may be mentioned for its great Oddneſs, tho' ſix Years before it would have been more ſingular. It is that the Lord *John Hay*, who commanded a Regiment of *Scotch* Dragoons, when the Regiment of Foot called the King's conſiſting of 1200 Men, ſubmitted to him, and ſurrendered their Arms and Colours, ordered, to prevent their running away, and the Neceſſity of ſetting a ſtrong Guard over them, that every Man ſhould cut a Piece out of the Waiſtband of his Breeches, which obliged them to hold them up with one Hand; and in that Poſture they marched with a Guard only of 25 Dragoons and a Serjeant. King *Charles* of *Sweden* did ſomething like this by the *Muſcovites*, after the Battle of *Narva*.

1706

Dangers of the Generals in the Battle of Ramillies.

While his Grace was obtaining theſe Laurels, the Emperor ſent a Decree to the Diet of the Empire, importing, that having thought fit to create the Duke of *Marlborough* a Prince of the Empire, in Conſideration of his eminent Services, he had erected the County of *Mindelheim* into a Principality, and given it to that Prince, to qualify him to ſit and vote in the College of Princes of the Empire:

The Principality of Mindelheim conferred on the Duke.

1706 pire; and that therefore his Majesty recommended to them to admit his Plenipotentiary thereinto, without any Delay, that the said Princes of *Mindelheim* might be encouraged more and more to continue his Services to *Germany* and the Common Cause.

Mr. Stepney *takes Possession of it.*

The Duke having appointed Mr. *Stepney* to take Possession of his Principality, and her *British* Majesty having been pleased to allow the said Mr. *Stepney*, her Envoy extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Imperial Court, to take Possession of it in his Highness's Name, the Ceremony was performed in the Town-Hall, *May* the 24th, and the next Day by the Officers, Magistrates, Burghers, and other Subjects of the Principality. Count *Konigseg*, one of the Emperor's Privy-Council, and his first Commissioner for this Act, declared, that his Imperial Majesty had transferred on the Duke, in Consideration of his important Services, all his Right to the said Principality; in Testimony whereof a Secratary of the Feudal-Court read the Letter of Investiture, and then a Patent, whereby the Officers and Subjects were first discharged from the Obedience and Vassallage which they swore a Year before to his Imperial Majesty, upon the Death of *Maximilian*, late Duke of *Bavaria*. They were afterwards directed to take a new Oath of Homage to the Duke of *Marlborough*, as Prince of *Mindelheim*, which was administer'd to them, by Mr. *Stepney*'s Order, in the Presence of Count *Konigseg*, and two other Imperial Commissioners, who had before the joint Administration of that Country. The whole Ceremony was performed with a great deal of Decency; and the People in general gave all Demonstrations of their Satisfaction, it being under his Highness's Protection.

THE HISTORY OF JOHN Duke of *Marlborough.*

BOOK IV.

To the End of the Campaign in 1707.

THO' *Ostend* was invested the 20th of *June*, the getting of Fascines and other necessary Things prevented the opening the Trenches till the 28th at Night when that Work was performed by Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, having under him Major-General *Lauder* and Brigadier *Amama*, with 2 Colonels, and 2000 Soldiers or Pioneers, supported by 4 Battalions. The 3d of *July* Sir *Stafford Fairborn* came ashore to confer with M. *d'Auverquerque*, and resolved that the next Day his Bomb-Vessels should draw near the Place to bombard it, while they

1706 *Siege of Ostend.*

1706 they did the ſame Thing on the Land-ſide. This was ſo well executed, that in a few Hours the Town was on Fire in ſeveral Places. The next Day the Duke of *Marlborough* came into the Army, and, having dined with M. *d'Auverquerque*, went to view the Approaches. His Grace was ſaluted by the Cannon of the Men of War under Sir *Stafford Fairborn*, and returned the ſame Evening to his Army at *Rouſſelaer*. The ſame Night the Counterſcarp was attacked, and a Lodgment made thereon, without any great Reſiſtance. The Batteries continued to play with great Succeſs the 5th and 6th and the Garriſon, ſeeing Preparations made for ſtorming the Place, thought fit to beat a Parley, and the following Capitulation was agreed upon:

Articles of Capitulation.

" 1. That the Garriſon ſhould march out only with their Swords by their Sides, and their Baggage, upon Condition that they ſhould not ſerve for ſix Months againſt King *Charles* III, and his Allies. 2. That the *Spaniſh* Troops ſhould be conducted to *Mons*, and the *French* to *Dunkirk*. 3, 4, and 5. That all the Engineers and Officers belonging to the Artillery, the Governor of *Damme*, and the Commiſſaries of Proviſions, both *Spaniards* and *French*, ſhould be allowed to march out upon the ſame Conditions as the Garriſon. 6. That all the Sick and Wounded, both Officers and Soldiers, ſhould be ſent, thoſe of *Spain* to *Mons* and thoſe of *France* to *Dunkirk*; and that they and the Comptrollers, Phyſicians, Undertakers, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and others belonging to the Hoſpital, ſhould be ſupplied with a ſufficient Number of Covered Waggons; but that the Waggons ſhould be liable to be viſited, and their Charges ſhould be borne by the two Crowns."
Theſe were the principal Articles, and the Garriſon marched out accordingly the 8th of *June*; but two *Spaniſh* Battalions, and 4 Troops of Dragoons of the ſame Nation, did not make above 60 Men;

Men; all the reſt having deſerted to return Home, or liſt themſelves in the Service of the Allies. Lieutenant-General *Spaar* was appointed Governor of this Place. 1706

M. *d'Auverquerque* having cauſed the Approaches to be levelled, and left a good Garriſon in *Oſtend* and *Plaſſendael*, marched to join the Duke of *Marlborough*, who advanced the 8th from *Rouſſelaer* to *Herlebeck*, took Poſſeſſion of *Courtray*, and the 11th advanced to *Helchin* on the *Scheld*, where he ordered four Bridges to be laid over that River. The Country People between the *Scheld* and the *Lys* were commanded to level the Lines. The Prince-Royal of *Pruſſia* arrived in this Camp to ſerve as a Voluntier under his Grace, and was received with all the Reſpects due to his high Birth: And the Troops of *Pruſſia* and *Hanover*, were 3000 *Palatines*, having joined the grand Army, they made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for a Siege. The *French*, by Means of their Sluices, had rendered the *Lys* unnavigable below *Menin*. General *Saliſh* was therefore ſent, with a ſtrong Detachment, to break down the Sluices between *Armentieres*, *Liſle*, and *Menin*, to free the Courſe of the *Lys*, that the Boats loaden with Artillery and Ammunition might come up from thence to *Courtray*. Mean time, the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Prince of *Pruſſia*, attended by ſeveral Generals advanced within a Mile of *Tournay*, to take a narrow View of that Place. The Elector of *Bavaria*, who after his quitting *Ghent* retired to *Mons*, left that Place alſo, upon Advice of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s being arrived on the *Scheld*, and would not ſuffer an Opera which they had prepared at *Mons* to be repreſented for the Anniverſary of his Birth day. *Motions of the Duke of* Marlborough.

His Grace having reſolved to beſiege *Menin*, in order to execute his further Projects, General *Saliſh* was commanded for that Service. The Trenches were opened in the Night between the 3d and 4th *The Siege of* Menin.

1706 of *Auguſt*, by two Attacks. The Approaches were carried on with all poſſible Diligence, and the Batteries being got ready to fire, the 9th of *Auguſt* they began to batter the Place, and made ſuch a Progreſs therein, that on the 18th the Allies ſtormed the Counterſcarp.

Attack of the Counterſcarp.

This proved the bloodieſt Action that has been in any Siege ſince the Attack of the Covert-way of *Keyſerwaert*. Lieutenant-General *Scholts* commanded the Attack on the Right, having under him Major General *Pallant* and Brigadier *Swartzell*; and the left was commanded by the Earl of *Orkney*, having under him Major-General *de Villates*, and the Duke of *Argyle*, Brigadier. There were 300 Grenadiers at each Attack, and as many Fuſiliers; and the Regiments of *Lothum*, *Ingoldſby*, *Pallant*, *Fagel*, *Lauder*, *Vogelin*, *Goven*, *Runk*, and *Leers*, ſupported them. The Attack began with ſpringing two Mines under the two ſaliant Angles of the Covert-way, which had a good Effect; and then the Grenadiers advancing with an uncommon Intrepidity to the Paliſades, threw their Grenades into the Covert-way, and leaped after them, killing all that they found. The Enemy made a great Reſiſtance, and the firſt 5 Battalions ſuffered very much, by reaſon of the great Fire they made from the Place. But at laſt the Confederates lodged themſelves on the four Angles of the Counterſcarp, and began to erect their Batteries thereon. The Loſs on both Sides, in the Attack of the Counterſcarp, was computed at above 2000 Men, killed and wounded. The Beſiegers had 3 Engineers killed, and as many wounded. The Troops followed the Example of their Generals, and behaved themſelves with unparalled Bravery. The Duke of *Argyle* diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular Manner on this Occaſion; as his Grace did at the Siege of *Oſtend*.

The

The Duke of *Vendome* threatening to attempt the Relief of *Menin*, the Duke of *Marlborough* caused his Army to make a Motion, the Left advancing to *Lawe* near *Menin*, that he might be in a Condition to fight the *French* if they made any Motion towards the latter Place. This Siege had cost the Allies but few Men before the Attack of the Counterscarp, and not one Officer of Note except Brigadier *Capol*, and a Son of the late Earl of *Athlone*. Count *Corneille*, Son to M. *d'Auverquerque*, known in the Army by the Title of Count *Nassau Oudenburg*, Brigadier-General of Horse, going into the Trenches with the Princes of *Nassau-Dillenburg*, out of Curiosity, was wounded. 1706

M. de Vendome *threatens to relieve the Place.*

The 19th, at Night, the Allies began two Saps, in order to make a Descent into the Ditch; and they worked upon the Batteries on the Counterscarp. The 20th, they finished two Batteries, one of 6, and the other of 5 Pieces of Cannon, which began to fire upon the Bastion and Ravelin, the next Morning, at Break of Day; and 2 more Battalions being perfected, were ready to play the 22d in the Morning. The Duke going thither at the same time, to see what Progress was made, the Governor beat a Parley, whereupon the Hostages were exchanged about 9 that Morning.

Progress of the Besiegers.

The Garrison desired, among other Things, That they might be allowed four Days from the Date of the Capitulation to expect Succours; and if they were not relieved in that Time, a Gate should then be delivered up.

The Governor offers Articles of Capitulation.

This Article they proposed was refused: and it was agreed in the Evening, That they should deliver up the Gate of *Bruges* the next Day, being the 23d, at 9 in the Morning, That they should march out with the Marks of Honour, but should carry away with them only 4 Pieces of Cannon and 2 Mortars, and should be conducted to *Douay*:

The Capitulation concluded.

That

1706 That they ſhould be provided with Waggons and Boats: That their Sick and wounded, who could not be removed, ſhould be taken care of in the Town at their own Charge: That as to the Debts of any of the Garriſon they ſhould not be ſtopped for them, provided they gave ſuch ſecurity for the Payment thereof as ſhould be accepted by their Creditors: That 8 Covered Waggons ſhould be allowed them: That the Priſoners on both Sides ſhould be ſet at liberty, as deſired. It was agreed, That the Capitulation ſhould be ſigned by the General who commanded the Siege, as is uſual in like Caſes; and the Allies promiſed that Care ſhould be taken to prevent any Diſorder, and Juſtice ſhould be done immediately upon any Complaint. In purſuance of this Capitulation, the Duke of *Argyle* took Poſſeſſion of the Gate of *Bruges*, the 23d in the Morning, with a Guard of 200 Men. The Surrender of this Garriſon happened ſome Days ſooner than the Allies could have expected, conſidering their Numbers and the Strength of the Place; and that there were very conſiderable Magazines, both of Ammunition and Proviſions.

The Garriſon marches out

The 25th in the Morning, the Carriſon of *Menin*, conſiſting of 12 Battalions of Foot, and 3 Squadrons of diſmounted Dragoons, making in all about 4300 Men, marched out with the uſual Marks of Honour, under a Guard of 200 of the Confederate Horſe, who conducted them the next Day to *Douay*. The *French* Officers owned they had upwards of 1000 Men killed and wounded during the Siege; but it appeared they loſt many more, and ſeveral deſerted as they marched out. M. *de Caraman*, the Commander, ſaluted the Duke of *Marlborough*, and made his Grace a Compliment as he paſſed by in the Rear of the Garriſon. Major-General *Welderen*, being appointed to command in *Menin*, took Poſſeſſion of the Town the ſame Day with 5 *Dutch* Battalions of Foot. The Al-

lies

lies found in the Place 55 Pieces of Brass Cannon, and 10 of Iron, besides several other Pieces that were buried Under-ground; 6 Mortars, 810 double Barrels of Powder, 387 double Barrels of Musket-Ball, besides a great Quantity of all other Sorts of Ammunition. As to the Loss of the Allies in this Siege, it amounted to near 3000 Men killed and wounded. 1706

The Duke of *Marlborough*, upon visiting the Town of *Menin*, after the Garrison was marched out, found among the Artillery 4 Pieces of Cannon with the Arms of *England*, taken at the Battle of *Landen*; which his Grace directed to be sent to *England*. He then gave Orders for the besieging of *Dendermonde*, in Form. and General *Churchill* was appointed to command the Siege. *The Siege of Dendermonde made.*

The 1st of *September*, three Days after the Siege began, the Duke of *Marlborough* arrived in the Camp to press on the Attack, where the Batteries had almost ruined 2 of the Redoubts. The next Day was employed in forming the Batteries against the Town, which began to fire, the 4th, with such Success, that a Breach was almost practicable by the next Morning, when the Besiegers attacked the Redoubt at the *Brussels* Port. The Enemy retired in such Confusion, that they were pursued to the Gates of the Town. The Garrison thereupon beat a Parley; but they insisting upon an honourable Capitulation, Orders were given for renewing the Attack. The Governor then desired a little longer Time; and at five in the Afternoon they submitted to be Prisoners of War, and immediately delivered up the *Mechlin*-Gate. The Garrison was conducted to *Holland*: It consisted of 2 *French* Regiments of Foot, a *Spanish* Battalion, 700 Men drawn out of several other Regiments, and 200 Dragoons mounted. Thus after 7 Days Siege, the Duke of *Marlborough* became Master of a Place, that has formerly baffled the *French* King's *The Garrison made Prisoners of War.*

Army,

1706 Army, who beſieged it in Perſon. His Grace appointed Brigadier *Meredith* to command here with a Garriſon of 500 Men, beſides the Regiment of *Sarra-Blanca*.

The Siege of Aeth. M. *d'Auverquerque* having inveſted the Town of *Aeth* with 40 Battalions and 30 Squadrons, the Trenches were opened the 20th of *September*, and the Works were carried on with ſo much Succeſs, that on the 29th the Beſiegers made a Lodgment on the Covert-way, and in the Night between the laſt of *September* and the 1ſt of *October*, they took Poſſeſſion of the Counter-guard before the Baſtion which was attacked. This obliged the Garriſon to beat a Parley, and they ſent two Officers, to demand an honourable Capitulation. M. *d'Auverquerque* gave them to underſtand, that they were to expect no other Terms than to be Priſoners of War; but that, out of Courteſy, he would allow the Officers their Swords and Baggage, and their Soldiers their Knapſacks, giving them half an Hour's Time to conſider of it. The *Dutch* General ſent one of his Adjutants with them, to know the Governor's Reſolution, who brought Word at firſt, that he would not agree to it; upon which, Hoſtilities were renewed. But the next Morning they beat a Parley a ſecond time, and the ſame two Officers were again ſent out, one of them being a Colonel, and the other Adjutant to the Duke of *Vendome*. After ſome Conteſt, it was agreed that the Garriſon ſhould ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War. Accordingly, on the 4th of *Oct.* 150 Officers, and about 600 Soldiers, which were the whole Number, beſides almoſt 300 Sick and Wounded left in the Hoſpitals, that remained of 2100, were ſent to *Ghent*, to be embarked there for *Bergen-op-zoom*.

The Garriſon ſurrenders Priſoners of War.

The Duke of Marlborough *covers that Siege.* The Duke of *Marlborough* continued encamped at *Gramez* all this while, to cover the Siege of *Aeth*; and the Duke of *Vendome* contented himſelf

self to behold the Taking of that Place, with the same Tranquillity with which he had seen the Taking of *Menin*. The Forces of the Allies, being joined again, encamped in the plain of *Cambron*, from whence Major General *Murray* was detached with 10 Battalions to fortify *Courtray*. The *French* Army lay between *Mons* and *Condé*, and their General ordered all the Garrisons in the *French Flanders* to join his Army, as if he was resolved to oppose the Siege of *Mons*. 1706

The Season of the Year being now too far advanced to undertake any other Siege in the *Netherlands*, the Duke of *Marlborough* resolved to separate his Army in the Beginning of *November*, and went to *Brussels* the 27th of *October*, attended by Mr. *Stepney*, her Majesty's Envoy-Extraordinary, and several General Officers. His Grace was met at some Distance from the Town by General *Churchill*, Count *Zinzendorf*, and other Persons of Quality, with whom, at the repeated Request of the Magistrates, he made his Entry on Horseback. At the *Anderlecht* Port his Grace was received by the Burgomaster and Magistrates, who there presented him the Keys of Honour, and made him a very handsome Speech; expressing their Gratitude to her Majesty of *Great Britain* and the *English* Nation, and to his Grace, the glorious Instrument of their Deliverance. The Streets through which his Grace passed were filled with a great Concourse of Nobility and Gentry, and lined with the Burghers under Arms. The People made loud Acclamations, and gave all other Demonstrations of Joy; the Cannon in the mean time firing from the Ramparts. In a Word, the same Honours were paid to his Grace as were formerly to the Dukes of *Burgundy*. His Grace alighted at the Palace of *Orange*, where he was complimented by the Council of State, the States of *Brabant*, and the Chief of the Clergy. The 28th in the

The Duke of Marlborough's Publick Reception at Brussels.

1706 the Morning the Magiſtrates waited on him again in a Body, and preſented him with what they call *the Wine of Honour*, which was brought in a Tun, gilded, and painted with his Grace's Arms, upon a Carriage, with Streamers, drawn by 6 Horſes, preceded by Trumpets and Kettle-drums, and attended by a Cavalcade of young Students on Horſeback, finely cloathed, with Devices in their Hands in Honour of his Grace, repreſenting the great Actions of that Campaign. The next Day his Grace ſet out from *Bruſſels* on his Return to the Army, having during his Stay received all poſſible Marks of Honour and Reſpect from the whole City.

The Troops go into Winter-Quarters.

The Army being marched to *St. Quintin Linnick*, ſeparated the 6th of *November*, and the Troops filed off to their reſpective Garriſons. The *Engliſh* Forces were quartered in *Ghent* under their own General; the *Danes* in *Bruges*, and the *Pruſſians* and the *Lunenburghers* along the *Demer*, and between the *Meaſe* and the *Rhine*. The *Dutch* Troops were in ſeveral Places, under their reſpective Generals. M *d'Auverquerque* commanded in Chief in the *Netherlands*, (the Duke of *Marlborough* having refuſed that Honour, as well as the whole Civil Government of the Conquered Provinces) and reſided at *Bruſſels* during the Winter.

His Grace at the Hague.

The Duke of *Marlborough* arrived the 8th of *November* at the *Hague*, and received the Compliments of the States and Foreign Miniſters on his wonderful Campaign. His Grace had ſeveral Conferences with the Deputies of the States, wherein they agreed, that the Steps *France* had made towards a Peace, ſhould be communicated to the Miniſters of the Allies, to take off all Suſpicions of ſecret Negociations, and encourage them to redouble their Efforts againſt the next Campaign.

Pur-

Purſuant to this Reſolution. the States having 1706
deſired the Miniſters of the Potentates that were *Overtures*
in the Grand Alliance to be preſent at an extra- *of Peace*
ordinary Congreſs, their Deputies for Foreign Af- *made by*
fairs made a Notification to them that gave them France
great Satisfaction. They owned, that *France* had *communi-*
formerly, by ſome private Perſons, made general *cated to the*
Intimations of their Willingneſs to treat of Peace, *Allies.*
and that laſt Winter the Marquis *d'Alegre* had preſented the States a formal Memorial on the ſame Subject, the Subſtance of which was read to the Congreſs. That they had given no Ear to theſe Advances, nor communicated them to the Allies, becauſe they did not judge them worth imparting to them. But that, in *October* paſt, the Elector of *Bavaria* had written a Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and another to the Field-Deputies of the States; which two Letters and the Anſwers that had been returned to them, were alſo communicated to the Congreſs. The firſt of theſe Letters, and the Duke's Anſwer; are as follows: The other Letter and Anſwer we ſhall omit, as being the ſame in Subſtance with what we inſert. The Elector expreſſes himſelf thus:

A Letter from the Elector of Bavaria *to the Duke of* Marlborough.

" THE Moſt Chriſtian King, Sir, finding
" that ſome Overtures of Peace, which he
" had cauſed to be made by private Ways, had,
" inſtead of producing the good Effect of making
" known his Diſpoſitions for promoting a general
" Peace, been looked upon, by ill-deſigning Per-
" ſons, as an Artifice to diſunite the Allies, and
" make an Advantage of the Miſunderſtanding
" that might be created amongſt them, has re-
" ſolved to ſhew the Sincerity of his Intentions,
" by renouncing all ſecret Negociations, and
" openly propoſing Conferences, in which Means
" may be found for re-eſtabliſhing the Tranquility
" of *Europe*.

" The

1706 " The moſt Chriſtian King is pleaſed to com-
" miſſion me to inform you of this, and to de-
" ſire you to acquaint the Queen of *England*
" with it.
" I give the like Notification, on the Part of
" the moſt Chriſtian King, to the States-General,
" by a Letter that I have written to their Field-
" Deputies: And he would do the like with re-
" gard to the other Potentates that are at War
" with him; had they Miniſters ſo near at hand as
" you are, to receive the like Intimation; he having
" no Deſign to exclude any of the ſaid Potentates
" from the Negociation that ſhall be begun in
" the Conferences he propoſes.
" Further, for advancing a Good ſo great and
" neceſſary to *Europe*, which has too long ſuffered
" the inevitable Calamities of War, he conſents,
" that a Place may forthwith be choſen between
" the two Armies, and after their Separation be-
" tween *Mons* and *Bruſſels*, in which, with you,
" Sir, (with whom the Intereſts of *England* are
" ſo ſafely intruſted) the Deputies the States ſhall
" pleaſe to nominate, and the Perſons whom
" the King of *France* ſhall impower, they may
" open their Intentions upon ſo important an
" Affair.
" I am extreamly pleaſed, Sir, to have ſuch an
" Occaſion to make you this overture, being per-
" ſuaded it will leave no Room for making a Doubt
" of the Sentiments of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty:
" And as it may be ſo beneficial to all *Europe*, you
" will be glad to give an Account of this to the
" Queen of *England*, without Loſs of Time, and
" to whomſoever elſe you ſhall think fit. I ſhall
" expect your Anſwer, Sir, to communicate to the
" moſt Chriſtian King; and ſhall always be ready,
" Sir, to do you Service."

Mons, *Oct.* 21, 1706. Signed,
M. Emanuel, Elector.

To

To which his Grace returned the following Answer: 1706

SIR,

" HAVING communicated to the Queen, my Miſtreſs, what your Electoral Highneſs did me the Honour to write to me in your Letter of the 21ſt of laſt Month, of the Intentions of the moſt Chriſtian King to endeavour to re-eſtabliſh the Tranquility of *Europe*, by Conferences to be held for that purpoſe between Deputies on both Sides; her Majeſty has commanded me to anſwer your Electoral Highneſs, That it is a Pleaſure to her to be informed of the King's Inclination to agree to the making of a ſolid and laſting Peace with All the Allies. As this is the ſole End that obliged her Majeſty to continue this War till now; ſo ſhe will be very glad to conclude it in concert with All her Allies, on Conditions that may ſecure them from all Apprehenſions of being forced to take up Arms again after a ſhort Interval, as happened laſt time. Her Majeſty is alſo willing I ſhould declare, that ſhe is ready to enter, jointly with All the High Allies, into juſt and neceſſary Meaſures for ſettling ſuch a Peace; her Majeſty being determined not to enter upon any Negotiation without the Participation of her ſaid Allies. But the Way of Conferences that is propoſed, without more particular Declarations on the Part of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, does not ſeem proper to her for attaining a truly ſollid and laſting Peace. Their Lordſhips the States-Generals are of the ſame Opinion. Therefore your Electoral Highneſs will rightly judge, that it is neceſſary to think of other more ſolid Means to attain ſo great an End, to which her Majeſty will contribute with all the Sincerity that can be wiſhed, having nothing ſo much at Heart as the Relief of her Subjects,

" and

1706 " and the Tranquility of *Europe*. Your Electoral
" Highneſs will always do me the Juſtice, to be
" perſuaded of the Reſpect with which I have the
" Honour to be, *&c.*

Hague, Nov. 20, 1706. MARLBOROUGH.

Speeches of the States Deputies on this Occaſion.

After reading theſe Pieces, the Deputies of the States made a Speech to the Congreſs, purſuant to their Inſtructions. They ſet forth, "That
" Peace could not but be extreamly agreeable to
" them, and no doubt to all the other High Allies,
" if it could be had on ſuch Terms as might rea-
" ſonably promiſe for its being firm and laſting;
" but that the Conference propoſed, without a
" more particular Diſcovery of the Intention of
" *France*, or without a probable Certainty, or
" Appearance, of good Succeſs, did not ſeem to
" their High Mightineſſes; to be a proper Means
" for attaining it, but rather a Means to divert
" the Thoughts of War, and of the great Prepa-
" rations the Enemy made, and to lull ſome of
" the Allies aſleep by the Hopes of Peace: That
" their High Mightineſſes, for their own Parts,
" were reſolved to ſtick to the Meaſures they had
" taken, and to the Alliance made, which God
" had hitherto ſo wonderfully bleſt. and to exe-
" cute and obſerve ſincerely what was ſtipulated
" and promiſed by the Treaties; and therefore
" not to enter into any Negociation of Peace, but
" jointly with their High Allies, and not without
" communicating to them faithfully, conformably
" to the ſaid Treaties, the Overtures that might
" be made to them on this Subject; expecting
" that the High Allies would do no leſs on their
" Part."

The Duke and the States for continuing the War.

The Grand Penſionary and the Duke of *Marlborough*, ſpoke very nobly and prudently on this Occaſion, and both concluded for continuing the War, They alſo deſired the Miniſters to write to their Principals, to exhort them to exert their beſt

Efforts

Efforts for carrying on the War effectually, and to take Example by *England* and *Holland*, who were determined to make a moſt vigorous Campaign. The Aſſembly was exceedingly charmed and ſatisfied with the ſincere, obliging, and honeſt Communication of the aforeſaid Premiſes. After this his Grace, having finiſhed his Affairs at the *Hague*, ſet out for *England*, where he arrived towards the End of *November*. 1706

On the 3d of *December* the Houſe of Commons reſolved *nemine contradicente*, that the Thanks of their Houſe be given to his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, for his eminent Service to her Majeſty and this Kingdom, in the great and glorious Victory and Succeſſes obtained over the Common Enemy in the laſt Campaign; and appointed a Committee to attend the Duke of *Marlborough* with the ſaid Thanks. He was attended upon the next Day, and told them, in anſwer to their Speech; "That if any thing could add to his Sa- "tisfaction in the Services he had endeavoured to "do to the Queen and his Country, it would be "the particular Notice which the Houſe of Com- "mons was pleaſed to take of them, ſo much to "his Advantage."

His Grace receives the Thanks of the Houſe of Commons.

His Anſwer

On the 5th of the ſame Month, the Duke having taken his Seat in the Houſe of Lords, the Lord-Keeper, *Cowper*, informed his Grace That he was commanded by that Houſe to give his Grace their Acknowledgment and Thanks for the eminent Services he had done ſince the laſt Seſſion of Parliament to her Majeſty and his Country, together with the Confederates, in this juſt and neceſſary War.

The Lord Keeper's Speech to him.

"Tho' your Succeſſes (ſaid that great Orator) "againſt the Power of *France*, while it remained "unbroken, gave moſt reaſonable Expectation that "you would not fail to improve them; yet what "your Grace hath performed this laſt Campaign "has far exceeded all Hopes, even of ſuch as were

"moſt

1706 " moſt affectionate and partial to their Country's
" Intereſt and your Glory. The Advantages you
" have gained againſt the Enemy are of ſuch a
" Nature, ſo conſpicuous in themſelves, ſo un-
" doubtedly owing to your Courage and Con-
" duct, ſo ſenſibly and univerſally benificial in their
" Cónſequences to the whole Confederacy, that to
" attempt to adorn them with the Colouring of
" Words would be vain and inexcuſable, and there-
" fore I decline it; the rather, becauſe I ſhould
" certainly offend that great Modeſty which alone
" can and does add Luſture to your Actions, and
" which in your Grace's Example has ſucceſsfully
" withſtood as great Trials as that Virtue has met
" with in any Inſtance whatſoever: And I beg
" Leave to ſay, that if any thing could move
" your Grace to reflect with much Satisfaction on
" your own Merit, it would be this, that ſuch an
" auguſt Aſſembly does with one Voice praiſe and
" thank you: An Honour, which a judgment
" ſo ſure as that of your Grace's to think rightly
" of every thing, cannot but prefer to the Often-
" tation of a publick Triumph."

His Anſwer. His Grace replied, " That he eſteemed it a very particular Honour which their Lordſhips were pleaſed to do him, and that no body in the world could be more ſenſible of it than he, nor more deſirous to deſerve the Continuance of their Favour and good Opinion." On the 26th of the ſame Month the Houſe of Lords preſented an Addreſs to the Queen; ſetting forth, " That having with much

An Addreſs of the Lords for perpetuating the Duke's Honours,

" Satisfaction conſidered the many great Actions
" which the Duke of *Marlborough* had perform'd in
" her Majeſty's Service, to the Honour of his Coun-
" try, and for the Good of the Common Cauſe of
" *Europe*, their Lordſhips were deſirous to expreſs
" the juſt Senſe they had of his Merit, in a peculiar
" and diſtinguiſhing Manner, and, in order to per-
" petuate the Memory thereof, to ſettle and con-
" tinue his Titles and Honours, with his Right
" of

" of Precedence, in his Poſterity, by Act of Par- 1706
" liament, as the Method moſt effectual for that
" End, and beſt ſuiting ſo great an Occaſion: But
" yet, having always a juſt Regard for the Pre-
" rogatives of the Crown (her Majeſty being the
" ſole Fountain of Honour) they thought it their
" Duty in the firſt Place, to have Recourſe to her
" Majeſty for her Royal Allowance, before any Or-
" der given for bringing in a Bill of ſuch a Nature;
" and at the ſame time to deſire her Majeſty
" would be graciouſly pleaſed to let the Houſe
" know in what Manner it would be moſt accep-
" table to her Majeſty, that the ſaid Titles and
" Honours ſhould be limited ".

Her Majeſty's Pleaſure was ſoon ſignified by her moſt gracious Anſwer.

" Nothing ſays ſhe, can be more acceptable to *Queen's*
" me than your Addreſs. I am entirely ſatisfied *Anſwer.*
" with the Services of the Duke of *Marlborough*,
" and therefore cannot but be pleaſed you have
" ſo juſt a Senſe of them.

" I muſt not omit to take notice, that the re-
" ſpectful Manner of your Proceeding, in deſiring
" my Allowance for bringing in the Bill, and my
" Direction for the Limitation of the Honours,
" does give me great Satisfaction.

" My Intention is, that after the Determination
" of the Eſtate which the Duke of *Marlborough*
" now has in his Titles and Honours, the ſame
" ſhould be limited to his eldeſt Daughter, and
" the Heirs-Mail of her Body, and then to all his
" other Daughters ſucceſſively, according to their
" Priority of Birth, and the Heirs-Mail of their
" reſpective Bodies; and afterwards in ſuch Man-
" ner as may moſt effectually anſwer my Deſign
" and yours in perpetuating the Memory of his
" Merit, by continuing, as far as may be done,
" his Titles and Name to all his Poſterity.

" I think it would be proper, that the Honour
" and Manour of *Woodſtock*, and the Houſe of

Blenheim,

ſaint

1706 " *Blenheim*, ſhould always go along with the Ti-
" tles; and therefore I recommend that Matter
" to your Conſideration."

Then the Duke of *Marlborough*, after expreſſing the Sence he had of the great and diſtinguiſhing Honour which the Houſe had been pleaſed to do him in their Reſolution, and their Application to her Majeſty, informed their Lordſhips, " That in relation to that part of her Majeſty's gracious Anſwer, which concerned the Eſtate of *Woodſtock* and the Houſe of *Blenheim*, he had made his humble Requeſt to the Queen, that thoſe might go along with the Titles: And I make *ſays he*, the like Requeſt to your Lordſhips, that after the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*'s Death (upon whom they are ſettled in Jointure) that Eſtate and Houſe may be limited to go always along with the Honours."

His Grace's Speech to the Lords.

An Act of Parliament for perpetuating his Honours with the Manour of Woodſtock *and Houſe of* Blenheim.

On the 28th of *December*, a Bill from the Lords, for an Act for ſettling the Honours and Dignities of *John* Duke of *Marlborough* upon his Poſterity, and annexing the Honour and Manour of *Woodſtock*, and Houſe of *Blenheim*, to go along with the ſaid Honours, was read three times by the Houſe of Commons, and paſſed *nemine contradicente*: And the very next Day it received the Royal Aſſent, when the Queen told both Houſes of Parliament, that the particular Notice they had taken of the eminent Services of the Duke of *Marlborough* was very agreeable to her, and ſhe did not doubt would be ſo to the whole Kingdom.

We are now come to the End of that Campaign in which the Allies gained more Advantages than in any other during the whole War: And here, according to my Cuſtom before obſerved, I ſhould make ſome Reflections by way of Recapitulation, had not that Part been excellently well done to my Hand, in the Petition of the *Dutch* Council of War to the States General, as delivered in at the End of the Year to their High Mightineſſes, It goes back to the Beginning of the War, and contains,

tains, in few Words, a judicious Summary of all the moſt material Tranſactions to this Time. Tho' it ſeems to reſpect moſt peculiarly the Intereſts of the States General, the Reader will find in it a faithful Repreſentation of whatever concerns the Grand Alliance, and the general Reaſons for making new Efforts in the next Campaign. 1706

" In 1702, ſay they, when the War was be *Recapitu-*
" gun in theſe Parts, as it had been before in *lation.*
" *Italy*, the Enemy were indeed diſlodged from *Campaign*
" the Frontiers of this State along the *Rhine* and *of* 1702.
" the *Maeſe*, by the taking of *Keyſerſwaert*, moſt
" of the Towns and Forts in the *Spaniſh Gelder-*
" *land*, and *Liege*; and the Expedition by Sea
" againſt *Spain*, after much loitering and fruitleſs
" Attempts about *Cadiz*, was no leſs advantage-
" ouſly than luckily terminated at *Vigo* But, in
" the mean time, we were not without Appre-
" henſion of Danger from the Enemy's Attempts
" on the Side of *Nimeguen* and *Hulſt*; and the
" State was obliged, for its better Security, to
" take more Troops into Service, beſides the Re-
" cruits and Levies that were already made.

" TheſeProgreſſes andEffort putting theEnemy *Campaign*
" upon recruiting their oldTro ps and raiſing new *of* 1703.
" eſtabliſhing great Ma azines on their Frontiers;
' and making all Manner of Preparations to ren-
" der themſelves ſuperior in Arms to the Allies in
" all Parts, your High Mightineſſes, with her
" Majeſty the Queen of *Great Britain*, found it
" neceſſary, in 1703, to augment your Forces
" with 20,000 Men more: And tho' the military
" Operations on this Side were not unproſperous
" that Year, particularly on the *Lower Rhine* and
" the *Maeſe*, *Bon*, *Huy* and *Limburg* being taken,
" and tho' that Year the King of *Portugal* and
" the Duke of *Savoy* came into the grand Alli-
" ance yet the Affairs of the High Allies did
" not go ſo ſucceſsfully in other Parts. In the
" *Netherlands*, about *Maeſtricht* and *Ant erp*, we

1706 " found ourſelves in very great Danger; and in
" *Germany* the Enemy had ſo great a Superiority,
" what with their own and their Confederate
" Forces, that early in the Spring, even before
" theWinter was well over, they paſſed the*Rhine*,
" and making themſelves Maſters of Fort *Kehl*,
" and other Places thereabouts, marched thro'
" very difficult and barren Ways to the *Danube*;
" put the two adjacent and not the leaſt Circles
" of the Empire, and even the Archdukedom of
" *Auſtria*, and County of *Tirol*, into great Per-
" plexity; took (notwithſtanding the Succours
" ſent up by your High Mightineſſes) the For-
" treſſes of *Briſac* and *Landau*; and, laſtly, by
" their Advantages in the *Spierbach*, ſpread the
" Terror of their Arms to the *Main* and the *Mo-*
" *ſelle*.

Campaign of 1704. " The Campaign of 1704 was opened by the
" Enemy on the *Upper Rhine* and the *Danube*;
" and, to redreſs the imminent Danger it brought
" upon the Allies, and prevent the fatal Conſe-
" quences that were apprehended from it, your
" High Mightineſſes, with her Majeſty theQueen
" of *Great-Britain*, were obliged to ſend up a
" very conſiderable Number of Troops, which
" had ſuch Succeſs, that a Stop was put to the
" Progreſs of the Enemy; and by the great Battle
" of *Hockſtedt*, fought ſoon after that *Schellen-*
" *berg*, all that was loſt was recovered, *Briſac*
" and Fort *Kehl* only excepted: But in the mean
" time, the Arms of the Allies had not the ſame
" Succeſs in other Parts, particularly in *Portugal*
" and *Piedmont*; where, beſides theReduction of
" the Dutchy of *Savoy*, ſeveral Places were forced
" to ſubmit to the Enemy, tho' not without put-
" ing them to very great Expence of Blood, eſ-
" pecially *Verrua*, which coſt them a hard Siege
" of above ſix Months.

Campaign of 1705. " Theſe Succeſſes, High and Mighty Lords,
" gave us good Ground to hope that the Enemy,

" who

" who in the Battle of *Hockſtedt*, and the Siege 1706
" of *Verrua*, had in Effect loſt two Armies, could
" not repair that Loſs, at leaſt not ſo ſpeedily as
" to hinder the military Operations of the Allies
" the next Year on the *Moſelle* and the *Saar*, and
" Country adjacent, where *France* is leaſt fortified
" by Art. But the Event was very different from
" thoſe Hopes and Appearances. The Enemy
" took the Field firſt again on the *Moſelle*, with a
" formidable Army, and poſted themſelves in
" ſuch a Manner, that the Army which marched
" up thither could undertake no Enterprize of
" Conſequence. At the ſame time the Enemy
" appeared ſuperior on the *Maeſe*; ſo that, to ſe-
" cure the State from Diſaſter, the Troops were
" obliged to come back from the *Moſelle*: Yet
" ſuch Succeſs attended them, that, in a little
" Time after, the Enemy's Lines in *Brabant* were
" forced. In *Spain*, by means of the new Suc-
" cours ſent thither, who took *Barcelona*, the
" Face of Affairs was happily changed; and on
" the *Upper Rhine*, the Arms of the Allies broke
" thro' the Enemy's Lines about *Haguenau*, deep
" into *Alſace*. On the other hand, the Enemy
" reduced all *Piedmont*, the Capital (which was
" threatened hard too) and two or three other
" Places only excepted.

" Laſtly, To come to the Succeſſes of the paſt *Campaign*
" Campaign, they have in ſeveral Parts (by the *of* 1706.
" Goodneſs of God) been very great and advan-
" tageous, beyond all human Expectation. In
" *Spain*, *Barcelona*, was relieved, and the Enemy
" forced to draw off, with the Loſs of almoſt a
" whole Army, and of a conſiderable Train of
" Artillery, and all Manner of Stores of War.
" This was attended by the Submiſſion of the
" entire Principality of *Catalonia*, and of the
" Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Arragon*, to King
" *Charles* III. as alſo of ſeveral maritime Places
" in the *Mediterranean*. In the *Netherlands*, by

1706 " the glorious Battle of *Ramillies*, and the Af-
" fright and Confuſion into which it put the Ene-
" my, three *Spaniſh* Provinces and ſeveral great
" and opulent Cities and Places in them, were
" likewiſe reduced to the Obedience of King
" *Charles* III; and afterwards ſeveral other
" Town,, as *Oſtend*, *Menin*, *Dendermonde*, *Aeth*,
" were with uncommon Vigour and Bravery,
" taken in much leſs Time than the like was ever
" done before. And in *Piedmont*, the City of
" *Turin* was in a moſt wondeful Manner nobly
" relieved, and the Enemy before it routed, and,
" with great Loſs of Men, Artillery, and Stores
" of all ſorts, forced to retire out of *Italy* over
" the Mountains into their own Country.

Elvantages gained by the Enemy.

" Yet, tho' ſo great, ſo ſurpriſing, ſo memo-
" rable Advantages and Victories were obtained,
" Affairs in *Spain* were firſt brought to the utmoſt
" Extremity, by the Enemies forming the Siege
" of *Barcelona* by Sea and Land, and puſhing it
" on with ſo great Vigour, that had not the Suc-
" cours ſent thither arrived juſt as they did, the
" Place muſt have ſubmitted, to the Ruin, it is to
" be feared, of King *Charles*'s Cauſe. On the
" *Rhine*, the Enemy, before the *German* Troops
" were out of their Quarters and recruited, with a
" conſiderable Body of Forces raiſed the Block-
" ade of Fort *Louis*, and afterwards retook *Dru-*
" *ſenheim* and *Haguenau*, with a great Train of
" Artillery that was in it; and, in general, reco-
" vered all that was taken from them in thoſe
" Parts the preceeding Year, and have ſtraitened
" *Landau*. In *Lombardy*, the Enemy gained a
" great Advantage over the Allies near *Monte-*
" *chiari*, by Means whereof they put back their
" Operations, and gained Time to beſiege *Turin*,
" and preſs it very hard. From all this, and alſo
" from the Affairs of *Spain* ſeeming at this time
" not to be in ſo proſperous a Courſe as they
were at the Opening of this Campaign, but to
" require

" require new Succours, it evidently appeared 1706
" that altho' the Succours of this War have hither-
" to been very great and advantageous, yet they
" have always been accompanied with great Dif-
" ficulties, Toil, and Hazard, and have not gone
" on in such an uninterrupted Train as might
" well have been hoped: had the Arms of the
" Allies been superior to the Enemy in all Parts;
" and as those Advantages could not have been
" obtained, so neither can they be pursued, if any
" Diminution had been, or should now be made,
" of the Force hitherto employed against so pow-
" erful an Enemy."

The Troops were in Motion on both Sides in 1707
the Month of *March*, to begin the Campaign in the *Netherlands*. The *French* Cavalry was very well mounted and numerous, but their Infantry in an indifferent Condition; whereas all the Troops of the Allies were compleatly recruited, and made the finest Appearance in the World. They were pretty equal in Numbers on both Sides; but the *French* being made up of new-raised Men, chiefly forced into the Service, the Allies seemed almost confident of Success, if they could but engage the Enemy. *State of the two Armies.*

The Duke of *Marlborough*, having been detained several Days at *Margate*, by contrary Winds. embarked the 13th of *April* in the Evening, designing to reach *Ostend*; but the Wind changing again, his Grace landed at the *Brill* the 16th, and the next Day arrived at the *Hague*, to the great Joy of the Ministers of the Allies, who expected him with the utmost Impatience. The next Day his Grace received and returned several Visits, and on the *Sunday* following he had a long Conference with the Deputies of the States on the Affairs of that Juncture. Amongst other things, he told them, that it being absolutely necessary to put an End to the Troubles in *Saxony*, occasioned by the Presence of the King of *Sweden* in that Electorate, he was resolved to go thither, and had for that *The Duke of Marlborough arrives in Holland.*

1707 Purpoſe the neceſſary Powers from the Queen his Miſtreſs, and deſired to have the ſame from their High Mightineſſes. The States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland* met the *Wedneſday* following in the Morning, when the Penſionary having communicated to them the Neceſſity of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Journey, they heartily concurred in thoſe Meaſures, and his Grace ſet out the ſame Evening for *Lipſick*, by the Way of Hanover.

Sets out for Saxony.

His Grace had ſeveral Conferences with M. *d'Auverquerque*, who ſet out the Day before his Departure for *Bruſſels*, to aſſemble the Confederate Troops in their reſpective Rendezvous.

Account of his Journey

The Duke made no Stay at *Hanover*, but having taken his Leave of the Electoral Court on the 24th in the Evening, he ſet out the next Morning at Four o'Clock. His Grace lay that Night at *Halberſtadt*, where he was complimented by the Magiſtrates. The 26th in the Morning he continued his Journey to *Hall*, where he was met by Mr. *Robinſon* Envoy extraordinary from her Majeſty of *Great Britaiu*, Count *Zinzendorf* Envoy from the Emperor, and M. *Cranenberg* the *Dutch* Miniſter. After Dinner his Grace received the Compliments of the Magiſtrates, of the Univerſity: Then proceeded to *Alt Ranſtadt*, accompanied by Mr. *Robinſon* and M. *Cranenberg*. He waited privately on Baron *Goertz*; went directly to Count *Piper*'s Quarters; and, after ſome Conference with him, came to the Quarters the King had ordered to be prepared for him. The 27th in the Morning he was complimented upon his Arrival by the Miniſters and General Officers,

Has an Audience of the King of Sweden.

and about ten o'Clock had his firſt Audience of the King, which laſted near two Hours. After dining with his Majeſty, his Grace had a ſecond Audience, at which were Count *Piper* and M. *Hermelin*, the two chief Miniſters, and Mr. *Robinſon*. His Grace then ſpent the whole Evening in Viſits to Count *Piper*, and the other Miniſters

and

and General Officers, and ſeemed perfectly well ſatisfied with his Reception. Count *Wackerbach*, Lieutenant-General of King *Auguſtus*'s Forces and his Envoy to the Court of *Vienna*, arrived the ſame afternoon with a Compliment from his Maſter; intimating, that he would be that Night at *Lipſick*. 1707

Waits on King Auguſtus,

Upon this Notice his Grace went the next Morning from *Alt-Ranſtadt*, to wait on King *Auguſtus*, with whom he had a private Conference of about half an Hour, and then returned to Count *Piper*'s Quarters, where he dined. In the Evening he ſupped with Field-Marſhal *Renchild*. The 29th his Grace was viſited by Count *Piper*, Field-Marſhal *Renchild*, Field-Marſhal *Ogilvi*, and ſeveral other General Officers and Perſons of Quality; and after having dined with Baron *Goertz*, had his Audience of Leave of the King of *Sweden*, Before it was ended, King *Staniſlaus* came in, and was complimented by his Grace, who ſoon after took his Leave, came to *Lipſick*, and thence, without making any ſtay, proceeded on his Journey to *Berlin*,

Arrived at the Court of Berlin,

On the 30th the Duke arrived at *Charlottenberg*; the King of *Pruſſia* having ſent M. *Grumbow* to deſire his Grace would paſs that Way. He ſupped that Night with the King, and was lodged in an Apartment belonging to the Margrave. On *Sunday*, *May* the 1ſt his Grace went to Divine Service with the King, who had given particular Orders to M. *L'Enfant* to preach in *French* on that Occaſion. On the 2d, his Grace left *Charlottenberg*, in order to proceed towards *Hanover*, where he arrived on the 3d; and the Day following, after a private Conference, he dined with his Electoral Highneſs. In the Afternoon he ſet out for the *Hague*, and returned thither on the 8th, having all along received the higheſt Marks of Eſteem and Diſtinction in the ſeveral Courts through which he paſſed. The 9th in the Morning his Grace was com-

1707 complimented upon his Return by the Foreign Miniſters, and other Perſons of Quality; and in the Evening was in Conference with the Deputies of the States General. He ſet out the next Day for *Brabant*, in order to draw the Troops together, and open the Campaign.

His Grace was perfectly well ſatisfied with the Succeſs of his Negotiations. The Aſſurances he had received diſſipated the Jealouſies ſome of the Allies had conceived of the Deſigns of the *Swedes*, and ſhewed, that what the *French* had ſo confidently publiſhed upon that Head was a mere Forgery. The firſt time the Duke waited on the King of *Sweden*, he preſented him with a Letter from the Queen of *Great Britain*, and made him the following Compliment: " Sir, I preſent to your

His Speech to the King of Sweden

" Majeſty a Letter, not dictated from the *Chancery*,
" but from the Heart of the Queen my Miſtreſs,
" and written with her own Hand. Had not her
" Sex prevented it, ſhe would have croſſed the
" Sea, to ſee a Prince admired by the whole Uni-
" verſe. I am in this Particular more happy than
" the Queen; and I wiſh I could ſerve ſome
" Campaigns under ſo great a General as your
" Majeſty, that I might learn what I yet want to
" know in the Art of War." ——— This was a very obliging Compliment to a young Hero, from one of the greateſt Generals in the World; who, in a few Years, had gained more Victories and taken a greater Number of Fortreſſes, than the moſt famous Warriors of the laſt Century.

To this Account, taken from the publick Jour-

Extract from M. de Voltaire.

nals, I muſt add that given by M. *de Voltaire*, not only becauſe he might have the Advantage of better Information than the Writers of that Time, but on Account of the juſt and elegant Character he gives of our Hero.

" The King of *Sweden* (ſays he, ſpeaking o
" the Time we are upon) was then receiving Em
" baſſadors in his Camp at *Alt-Ranſtadt*, from al
" moſt

" moſt all the Princes in Chriſtendom. Some de- 1707
" ſired him to quit the Dominions of the Empire,
" and others preſſed him to turn his Arms againſt
" the Emperor; and it was then a current Report,
" that he deſigned to join with *France*, in depreſſ-
" ing the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Among theſe Em-
" baſſadors was the famous *John* Duke of *Marl-*
" *borough*, ſent by *Anne* Queen of *Great-Britain*.
" This Man, who never laid Siege to a Town *His Cha-*
" which he did not take, nor fought a Battle which *racter of*
" he did not gain, was at *St. James*'s a perfect *the Duke of*
" Courtier, the Head of a Party in Parliament Marlbo-
" and in Foreign Countries the moſt able Nego- rough.
" tiator of his Time. He d d *France* as much
" Miſchief by his Underſtanding, as by his Arms:
" And *Fagel*, Secretary of the States General, a
" Man of very great Merit, has been heard to
" ſay, that more than once, when their High
" Mightineſſes had reſolved to oppoſe what the
" Duke of *Marlborough* was to lay before them,
" the Duke came, ſpoke to them in *French*, in
" which Language he expreſſed himſelf ill, and
" brought them all into his Sentiments.

" In Conjunction with Prince *Eugene*, the Com-
" panion of his Victories, and *Heinſius*, the Grand
" Penſioner of *Holland*, he ſupported all the
" Weight of the Enterpriſes of the Allies againſt
" *France*. He knew that *Charles* was exaſperated
" againſt the Empire and the Emperor; that he
" was ſecretly ſolicited by the *French*; and that
" if this Conqueror ſhould join himſelf to *Lewis*
" XIV, the Allies would be undone.

" 'Tis true, *Charles* had given his Word in
" 1700, not to intermeddle in the War of *Lewis*
" XIV with the Allies. But the Duke of *Marl-*
" *borough* did not believe that any Prince would
" be ſo great a Slave to his Word, as not to
" ſacrifice it to his Grandeur and Intereſt. He
" therefore ſet out from the *Hague*, with a De-

1707 " ſign to ſound the Intentions of the King of
" *Sweden*.

The Duke's Manner of applying to the K. of Sweden.

" As ſoon as he was arrived at *Lipſick*, where
" *Charles* then was, he applied himſelf ſecretly,
" not to Count *Piper*, the firſt Miniſter, but to
" Baron *Goertz*, who began to ſhare the King's
" Confidence with *Piper*. He told *Goertz*, that
" the Deſign of the Allies was very ſhortly to
" propoſe the King of *Sweden* to be a ſecond time
" Mediator between them and *France*. He ſaid
" this in hopes of diſcovering by *Goertz*'s Anſwer,
" the King's Intentions, and becauſe he choſe
" much rather to have *Charles* for an Arbitrator
" than an Enemy. At laſt he had his publick
" Audience at *Lipſick*.

" Upon his firſt Addreſs to the King, he told
" him in *French*, that he ſhould think himſelf
" happy, if he could be taught, under his Com-
" mand, what he yet wanted to know in the Art
" of War. He then had a private Audience of
" an Hour long, in which the King ſpoke in
" *German*, and the Duke in *French*. The Duke,
" who was never in haſte to make Propoſitions,
" and had learned by a long Courſe of Experi-

He penetrates the King's Intentions.

" ence the Art of penetrating into the Sentiments
" of Mankind, and finding out the ſecret Con-
" nection between their inmoſt Thoughts and
" their Actions, Geſtures and Diſcourſes, fixed
" his Eyes attentively upon the King. When he
" ſpoke to him of War in general, he thought he
" perceived in his Majeſty a natural Averſion to-
" wards *France*, and obſerved that he was pleaſed
" when he talked of the Conqueſts of the Allies.
" He mentioned the Czar to him, and took no-
" tice that his Eyes always kindled at his Name,
" notwithſtanding the Moderation of the Confe-
" rence; and he farther remarked, that a Map of
" *Muſcovy* lay before him on the Table. He
" wanted no more to determine him in his Judg-
" ment, that the real Deſign of the King of *Swe-*

den

" *den* and his ſole Ambition were to dethrone the 1707
" Czar as he had already done the King of *Poland*.
" He underſtood, that he had no other Views by
" continuing in *Saxony*, than to impoſe, by that
" means, certain hard Laws upon the Emperor
" of *Germany*: But he knew that the Emperor
" would comply with them, and that thus Mat-
" ters would be eaſily made up. He left *Charles*
" XII to his natural Inclination; and being ſatis-
" fied with having diſcovered his Intentions, he
" made no kind of Propoſal.

" As few Negotiations, *continues our Author*, *Without*
" are concluded without Money, and Miniſters *bribing his*
" are ſometimes ſeen to ſell the Hatred or Favour *Miniſters*,
" of their Maſters, it was believed throughout all
" *Europe*, that the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Succeſs
" with the King of *Sweden* was obtained by a
" large Sum of Money, opportunely given to
" Count *Piper*; and the Count is reflected upon
" for it to this Day. For my own Part, after
" having traced this Report to its Source, I have
" been informed that *Piper* received a ſmall Pre-
" ſent from the Emperor by the Hands of Count
" *Wratiſlau*, with the Conſent of the King his
" Maſter, and nothing from the Duke of *Marlbo-*
" *rough*."——M. *de Voltaire* goes on to defend Count *Piper*'s Character, with which I have nothing to do; and I inſert this latter Part of the Extract, only to make one Reflection upon it, *viz.* That it is a ſurpriſing Inſtance of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Addreſs, perſonal Influence, and great Knowledge of Mankind, if he could dive thus deeply into the Sentiments of the King of *Sweden*, in the Manner M. *de Voltaire* relates, without having firſt unlocked the Hearts of thoſe about him with a golden Key.

The *Britiſh* General arrived at *Bruſſels* the 13th *The Armies*
of *May*, and having immediately held a Council *take the*
of War with M. *d' Auverquerque* and the Field- *Field*,
Deputies of the States, Orders were ſent to the

1707 Confederate Troops to march to their general Rendezvous at *Anderlecht* near *Bruſſels*, from whence they marched to *Hall* a few Days after, begin the Campaign. Tho *French* were drawing together at the ſame time.

The Duke of *Marlborough* joined the Army at *Hall* on the 21ſt, and the 29th advanced to *Foignes*. The 27th his Grace, accompanied by ſeveral Generals, and eſcorted by 12 Squadrons, detached himſelf to view the Camp of the Enemy, who had removed two Days before to *Goſſeliers*, and thence into the Plain of *Fleurus*. A Council of War having been held, wherein it was reſolved to march to *Nevelles* in order to attack the Enemy, a Detachment was accordingly ſent to view the Paſs of *Ronquieres*, through which they were to paſs. The Generals, who were ſent thither, reported that the ſaid Paſs was almoſt impracticable; and that the Enemy, ſuſpecting the Deſigns of the Allies, had made a Detachment to ſecure it: Hence it was not doubted but they would advance with all their Forces upon the firſt Motion of the Allies, to hinder them from marching thro' that Way, or elſe would charge the firſt Troops that ſhould paſs with ſo much Advantage, that it was not proper to offer to run the Hazard of ſuch an Attempt. That Report was conſidered in a Council of War, and the Generals reflecting that the *French* had in all Likelihood a Deſign to march on a ſudden to plunder *Louvain* and *Bruſſels*, the Duke of *Marlborough* reſolved to return towards *Bruſſels*, to prevent the Deſigns of the Enemy; which was done with ſo much Diligence, that the 29th they paſſed the Canal at *Diggem*, where they reſted the 30th, and marched the 31ſt to *Bethlem*. They made Bridges over the *Dyle*, which they paſſed the 1ſt of *June*, and encamped at *Meldert*, where they continued till the 10th of *Auguſt*.

The Duke's Deſign to attach the Enemy fruſtrated.

The

The *French* seeing their Design disappointed, advanced to *Gembloux*, and posted themselves very advantageously. They had 124 Battalions and 143 Squadrons, and yet did not think fit to venture an Engagement with the Allies, who were very much inferior in Number. The Armies however, being so near, there happened frequent Skirmishes; but as none of them were of great Consequence, I shall give no particular Account of them, and only observe, that the Forces of the Allies having beaten the Enemies in several Rencounters, this mightily encouraged the Confederate Soldiers, and made them very desirous to come to a general Engagement. 1707

Upon certain Advice that the Enemy had detached 13 Battalions and 12 Squadrons, the Duke of *Marlborough* and M *d Auverquerque* resolved to attack them if possible; and to do it with less Disadvantage, they resolved to march to *Genap*. Orders were given accordingly to lay four Bridges on the *Dyle*, and the Troops encamped near *Louvain*, under Major-General *Week*, and the Regiment of *Bothmar*, were ordered to march to *Florival*, and the Battalions in *Brussels* to advance to *Waterloo*. The heavy Baggage being sent away in the Morning, the Army decamped the 10th of *August* from *Meldert*, and, having passed the *Dyle*, marched all the Night long, and the next Morning till Ten o'Clock, when they encamped at *Genap*, the Right to *Promelles*, and the left to *Davieres*. The Enemy knew nothing of this March till seven in the Evening' because the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with a great Detachment of Horse, was sent towards their Camp to cover the Army, and hinder them from getting any Intelligence of its Motions. The Confusion was very great in their Camp, when they were informed of this March: They struck down their Tenths, and, about Eleven at Night, marched towards *Fleu-*

The French endeavours in vain, under Major-General *Week*, and the Regiment of *Bothmar*, were ordered to march to *Florival*, and the Battalions in *Brussels* to advance to *Waterloo*. His Grace endeavours again to attack them.

1707 *rus* and *Hespeney*, arriving the same Evening at *Gosseliers*.

The 12th in the Morning the Generals received Advice, that the *French* Army had made but a short Halt at *Gosseliers*, and were advanced to *Seneff* about Midnight, the Elector of *Bavaria* taking his Quarters in the Castle of *Vanderbec*, and the Duke of *Vendome* in the Farm-house of *Bel*, between *Vanderbec* and *Seneff*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, M. *d' Auverquerque*, and the Deputies of the States having conferred thereupon, it was resolved to march directly to *Nivelle*, in order to attack them; and accordingly the Army marched about One in the Afternoon, and came into that Camp the same Evening, the Left extending to the River *Senne* at *Arquennes*, and the Right to *Valianpont*. As they came in their March upon the Hills of *Arquennes*, they discovered the Enemies extended in their Camp aforesaid, about a League distant. They came too late into their own Camp to attack them that Night; but the necessary Dispositions were made for doing it the next Morning; and because it was foreseen, that the Enemy would endeavour to retire in the Night, to gain the Camp of *Cambron*, all possible Care was taken to prevent their Retreat. The Count *de Tilly* with 40 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, and a Detatchment of 5 or 6000 Grenadiers, were ordered to post themselves between the two Armies, their Left to *Corneliz*, and their Right towards the Road ftom *Bink* to *Nivelles*, which was as near the Enemy as it was possible to get.

Comes up with them and endeavours to prevent their Retreat.

Count *Tilly* was ordered to observe the Enemy, and in case they decamped, to fall upon their Rear aud amuse them, till the Army could come up to attack them. Those Troops set out immediately; but it was near Midnight before they were in their respective Posts, notwithstanding the Soldiers marched with all imaginable Zeal and Alacrity. The *French*, who foresaw the Design of the Duke

of

of *Marlborough*, judged that it would be impoſſible for them to avoid an Engagement, if they continued in that Camp till the next Day; and therefore they reſolved to decamp in the Night. They made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for it about Seven o'Clock, at the Time the Confederates were coming into their Camp, and about Nine their Left began to retire towards *Marimont*, without Beat of Drum or Sound of Trumpet. 1707

They Decamp in the Night

The 13th, a little before Break of Day, Count *Tilly* advanced with his Detachment directly to the Camp of the Enemy, ſaw their Army on a full March, obſerved that they made their Retreat in very good Order from Hedge to Hedge, and that the Country being very difficult, it was ſcarce poſſible to come at them. He ſent notice thereof to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and that he was marching to endeavour to attack their Rear, as he was directed: Whereupon 20 Battalions and 30 Squadrons, under the Command of General Count *Lottum*, were detatched to ſupport Count *Tilly*. Who marched with all poſſible Speed, and had ſeveral Skirmiſhes with their Rear; but having purſued them three or four Hours, as far as the Plans of *Marimont*, and obſerving that it was to no Purpoſe to fatigue the Troops, he returned to the Camp. The Country being cut by many deep Roads, was very favourable to the Retreat of the Enemy, who poſted therein ſome Infantry, which hindered the Confederate Horſe from making any Openings to follow them.

Count Tilly purſues them.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, who was advanced with a Detachment, being returned to the Camp reſolved to continue that Day in the ſame Place, to give Time to the Troops to reſt themſelves, after the fatiguing Marches they had made; and becauſe it was uncertain whether the Enemies marched towards their Lines or *Cambron*, the Field-Marſhal *d'Auverquerque* ſent one of his Aids-de-Camp, with 150 Huſſars, to poſt himſelf on

His Grace finds it in vain to harass the Troops and deſiſts.

the

1707 the Hills of the *Great Roulx*, from whence they plainly discovered the March of their Army, being about half a League from them. That Officer reported, that their Van-guard was advanced to *St. Dennis*, having the *Haine* behind them. The Spies confirmed this Intelligence, and reported farther, that the Elector had his Quarters at *St. Dennis*, and the Duke of *Venaome* at *Castlau*, The Generals concluded from this March, that the Enemy did not design to retire within thir Lines, but rather to possess the Camp of *Cambron*, which was inaccessible on that Side.

He encamps at Soignies.

The 14th the Allies decamped about Six in the Morning, and had all the Day a most violent Rain, which rendered the Roads so bad, that it was very late when the Right came to *Soignies*, and all the Left could not come up till the next Morning, notwithstanding tnat 1000 Pioneers had been at Work ever since the 12th at Night, to repair the Roads from *Arquennes* to *Soignies*. The Soldiers suffered very much in this March, but the *French* suffered a great deal more; for having rested but some few Hours at *St. Dennis*, they marched the 14th, befo.e Break of Day, towards *Chievres*, where they encamped without any Tents or other Baggage, and where about two Days without Bread. They lost a World of Men by Desertion, and above 1000 of them came over to the Confederates.

The Weather at this time continuing very bad, it was not thought fit to expose the Soldiers to the Inconveniences of a March, till the Rain was over. The 16th the Baggage and Artillery came up tho' with great Difficulty, and the Roads were so deep that the Army would have had much ado to subsist, had it not been for the Conveniency of the Causey of *Brussels*, by which they received their Convoys. The Enemy continued encamped between *Lens* and *Chievres*, and the Elector took up his Quarters

in

in the Caſtle of the latter Place, upon the earneſt Requeſt of the Monks of *Cambron*, who deſired his Highneſs to exempt them from that Trouble. In a Word, not to detain the Reader with a Narrative of every ineffectual Motion, nothing more can be ſaid of this Campaign, than that his Grace hunted the *French* from Place to Place, in order to force them to a Battle, till at laſt, reſolved not to fight, they retired behind their Lines under the Cannon of *Liſle*, and the Duke encamped at *Helchin*, ſubſiſting his Troops upon he Territories of the Enemy. 1707

His Grace arrived at the *Hague* the 5th of *October*, and immediately after his Arrival made a Viſit to the Grand Penſionary, and M. *Slingeland*, Secretary of the Council of State. He had afterwards a Conference with the Deputies of the States-General, wherein he communicated the Orders he had received from the Queen his Miſtreſs to repair to *Francfort*, and confer with the Electors of *Mentz* and *Hanover*, about the Operations of the next Campaign. Several important Points were debated in theſe Conferences, but there was no Propoſal made for any Augmentation of Troops, notwithſtanding it was believed that was one of the chief Subjects of his Grace's Journey. *The Duke arrives at the* Hague.

His Grace ſet out the 7th for the Army in the *Netherlands*, which decamped the 11th from *Helchin*; and after having marched through very difficult Roads, came to *Aſch*, where they ſeparated, aud marched into Winter-Quarters, which were much the ſame as the foregoing Year. His Grace left the Army the 15th, and ſet out for *Germany*, accompanied by M. *de Geldermalſen*, who was to aſſiſt in the Conferences with the Electors of *Mentz* and *Hanover*, on the Part of the States-General. The *French* Army likewiſe ſeparated about the ſame time, and the Elector of *Bavaria* repaired to *Mons*. *Sets out for* Germany

The

1707 The Elector of *Mentz* arrived at *Francfort* the 19th of *October*, as did, the next Day, the Elector of *Hanover*, attended by several Generals. The Duke of *Marlborough*, having been detained a Day longer than he thought on the Road, because of a Francfort Conference he had with the Elector *Palatine*, could not arrive till the 21st. They had several Conferences together; but nothing could be concluded till the Arrival of Count *Wratislau* from *Vienna*.

Arrives at Francfort and confers with the Electors of Mentz and Hanover.

That Nobleman, who at first had declined to accept the Commission he came with, at last was obliged to execute it, and he arrived at *Francfort* the 27th. This Delay made People hope, that his positive Instructions would make amends for the Time lost; but they were deceived. The Count declared that he was not fully instructed; and the Elector of *Mentz* and *Honover*, with the Duke of *Marlborough*, set out the 29th from *Francfort*; the first for his Residence, the second for the Army, and the latter for the *Hague*, whether he was accompanied by Count *Wratislau*. Those Princes settled several Points in relation to the next Campaign, but none of the Ministers of the States-General assisted therein. The Count *de Rechteren*, who was come from *Vienna* on purpose, found himself indisposed before he could reach *Francfort*.

Comes to England.

The Duke of *Marlborough* arrived at the *Hague* the 5th of *November*, and, having concluded several important Affairs with the States-General, embarked a few Days after for *England*. His Grace having communicated to the States General what passed in the Conferences held at *Francfort*, and their Deputies having had several Conferences with the Ministers of the Emperor, their High Mightinesses resolved to use all possible Means to engage the Empire to make greater Efforts for the future than they had done before; and in order thereto they wrote a pressing Letter to the Diet of *Ratisbon*. I shall not at the End of this barren Campaign detain the Reader with any Repetition, but

but inſtead thereof tranſcribe that Part of the *Dutch* Council of War's Petition, which ſets forth the Cauſes and Accidents, whereby the Series of the Confederates Succeſs had been ſometimes interrupted. The next Campaign will afford more Matter for Recapitulation, when I ſhall introduce what is material concerning this. 1707

The Council, after having ſummed up the Advantages obtained in the War, proceed thus: —

Reaſons of the Allies Want of Succeſs.

" However, High and Mighty Lords, notwithſtanding theſe great and important Advantages, " the Affairs are not yet brought to that Paſs " and Ballance, that may ſecure the Safety and " Tranquility of your High Mightineſſes and " your Allies. The great Power of the Enemies " you had to wreſtle with, and eſpecially that of " the *French*, who, tho' ſeveral times gloriouſly " defeated, and eſpecially at *Schellenberg*, *Hochſtedt*, *Ramillies* and *Turin*, have yet found Means " every time to riſe, and have ſo far improved " the Defeats they had received, as to make them " an encouragement for greater Efforts; that very " Power has now and then ſtopt the Proſecution " of the Advantage obtained, and the Rapidity " of Victories. To this Stop have likewiſe ſometimes contributed the Diſorder, Dilatorineſs, " Slowneſs, and the Want of being ready in a " due Time, of ſome of the Allies, and their " Want of good Intelligence of the Motions and " Deſigns of the Enemy: And it were to be wiſhed that in the Courſe of this War there ſhould " not be found by Experience, what has been " formerly obſerved; namely, that great Hopes " and great Succeſſes do not always go together, " and that Proſperity, which gives Birth to ſuch " Hopes, commonly brings along with it, at the " ſame time, a wrong and groundleſs Opinion of " the Weakneſs and Declenſion of the Enemy. " and conſequently produces Supineneſs and Negligence."

"-Beſides

1707 " Beſides all this, the Advantage of the
" Ground, the natural Strength of the Rivers
" and Canals in the Countries where the War
" was to be carried on; the Number, Situation,
" and Extent of the fortified Places to be at-
" tacked; the Backwardneſs of the Seaſons, and
" Unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather, and even
" ſome inconſiderable Accidents, may alſo re-
" tard and ſtop the Proſecution of Advantages
" obtained. 'Tis to theſe Reaſons, or at leaſt to
" ſome of them, that we may attribute, that
" Campaigns which have followed thoſe where-
" in were gained great Advantages, have not
" been ſo favourable: That the Campaign next
" after the Victories of *Schellenberg* and *Hockſtedt*,
" and which ſeemed to promiſe no leſs than the
" Conqueſt of *Saar-Louis* and *Thionville*, and even
" of *Metz*, and other Places in the Heart of
" *France*, had not Succeſs anſwerable to thoſe
" Promiſes and Expectations. That in the *Ne-*
" *therlands*, where the Enemies, by many Pre-
" cautions, have endeavoured to preſerve their
" Towns and Fortreſſes, the laſt Campaign has
" not been ſo ſucceſsful as the former; and that
" the Expedition into *Provence*, and the * in-
" tended Conqueſt of *Toulon* and *Marſeilles* have
" had no other Effect than the Devaſtation of
" Part of that Province, the Bombardment of
" *Toulon*, and the Deſtroying of ſome Men of
" War and Magazines."

* *For this Expedition ſee the Hiſtory of Pr.* Eugene.

THE

THE HISTORY OF JOHN Duke of *Marlborough.*

BOOK V.

Containing the Transactions of the Year 1708,

THE *French* were very busy during the Winter, and made unusual Motions, which no body could at first penetrate the Meaning of. But if the *French* makes great Preparations on their Frontiers, those of the Allies in the *Netherlands* were no less considerable, tho' they did not make so much Noise. Their Troops were recruiting with all imaginable Speed, and the Officers were ordered to exercise their new Soldiers with great Care. They provided large Magazines, and gave Room for certain Prediction, that the *Netherlands* would

1708

Great Preparations on both Sides.

1708 would be a Scene of great Action the next Campaign.

The Designs of France *against* Scotland.

At last, in the Month of *February*, the great Designs of the *French* Court broke out, and it was every where known, that their Preparations at *Dunkirk* were designed against *Great-Britain*, in favour of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. I must digress from the History of the Grand War, to give some Account of this Expedition, which for a short time held all *Europe* in Suspence.

The *French* King, not being able to digest the Affair of *Toulon*, resolved to make an Effort to carry the War into *Great-Britain*; and, believing that the *Scots* were dissatisfied upon Account of the Union, he flattered himself with the Hopes, that they would declare for the Pretender, upon his Arrival in *Scotland*. This being concluded upon, the necessary Preparations for the Expedition of that Prince were carried on with all imaginable Speed and Secrecy; and the Design thereof was rather guessed at than known, till the Pretender set out from *St. Germains*. This he did the 7th of that Month, after having had several Conferences with the Most Christian King, and taken his Leave of him in form. He was accompanied by the Earl of *Middleton*, and some other Lords of his Court.

About the same time the Treasurer residing at *Lisle* receiv'd 54,000 *Louis d' Or* for the Use of the Fleet, and 200 *Irish* Officers arrived at *Arras* in their Way to *Dunkirk*, where they were to go on board: While Major-General *Cadogan* concerted with M. *d'Auverquerque* the March of a Detachment of *British* Forces out of *Brabant*, and how to supply their Room in their several Garrisons. General *Lumley* sent Orders accordingly to ten Battalions, to hold themselves in a Readiness to march at an Hour's Warning, to be embarked at *Ostend*. There were already 3 *Irish* Battalions, and 12 *French*, embarked or ready to embark: all

all commanded by the Count *de Gace*, the Marquis *de Vibray*, the Marquis *de Ruffe*, the Marquis *de Levy*, and M. *Dillon*, Lieutenant-Generals. 1708

The Sieur *de Monroy*, Colonel of the Regiment of *Luxemburg*, and the Marquis of *Montandre*, Colonel of the Regiment of *Bearn*, were made Brigadiers; and to encourage the other Colonels, they were promiſed to be promoted to the like Degree, and that all the Subaltern Officers ſhould be likewiſe promoted. Each Colonel received 1500 Livres by way of Gratuity, the Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors 900, and the Captains 600. M. *Dandreſelle* was made Super-Intendant of the Troops deſigned for this Expedition: The Squadron which was to convoy them was entruſted to the Count *de Forbin*; but the Number of Ships was at firſt variouſly reported.

Encouragement given to the Officers engaged in the Expedition.

Itwas ſaid that 700 Officers, and a great many Voluntiers, accompanied the titular Monarch in this Expedition, for which they remitted 8 Millions of Livres in Specie to *Dunkirk*, beſides a great Sum of Money which the late Queen of *England* borrowed upon her Jewels or otherwiſe. They made a great Noiſe there of the ſtrong Party their Prince had in *Scotland*, and cauſed a Manifeſto to be printed, in order to have it diſperſed upon his Landing, whereby he promiſed the *Scots* all the Aſſurances they could deſire for the Security of their Religion and Liberties. The Court of the Elector of *Bavaria* expreſſed a great deal of Joy upon this intended Expedition; and his Electoral Highneſs diſpatched a Gentleman to compliment the Chevalier *de St. George* (for that was the Name he was to go by till he aſcended the Throne of *Scotland*) upon his Arrival at *Dunkirk*, and wiſh him good Succeſs in his Enterprize. The titular Monarch arrived at *Dunkirk* the 9th of *February*; but there happened an Accident in his Way, which, tho' common enough to Travellers, occaſioned a great Conſternation amongſt

1708 amongſt ſome of his ſuperſtitious Followers, being looked upon as a bad Omen. His Chaiſe, or Calaſh, broke within ſome Leagues of *Dunkirk*, and he was obliged to take Horſe and ride Poſt; whereby he found himſelf much fatagued, and ſomewhat indiſpoſed upon his Arrival. His Party gave out, that when the Moſt Chriſtian King bid adieu to this pretended Prince, he preſented him with a Sword enriched with Diamonds, valued at 50,000 Livres, and deſired him always to remember that it was a *French* Sword. To which the Chevalier anſwered. " That if it was his good " Fortune to get Poſſeſſion of the Throne of his " Anceſtors, he would not content himſelf with " returning Thanks to his Majeſty by Letters " and Ambaſſadors, but would ſhew his Grati- " tude by Effects."

The Pretender diſcouraged by the breaking of his Chaiſe.

After all this great Buſtle, on the 12th of *March* the King of *France* received Advice, that they had been obliged to land the Troops that were embarked, upon Account of the Indiſpoſition of the Chevalier, His Phyſician, it ſeem, had declared, that he could not conſent to his Embarkation, looking upon it as very dangerous for his Life, becauſe he had the Meaſles, attended with an Ague. The 14th, the moſt Chriſtian King obſerving that the Court appeared in a ſort of Conſternation upon this Accident, declared that he had ſent orders to Count *Forbin* to put to Sea without any further Delay, upon any Pretence whatſoever; and that he was very well informed, that the Chevalier was not ſo ill as his Phyſician repreſented. Soon after they continued their Preparations, and the Wind turning fair for them the 17th, they laid hold of that Oppertunity, and ſailed from the Road of *Dunkirk*: But the Wind changing about Midnight, they were obliged to come to an Anchor in *Newport-Pits*. A Veſſel ſailed from *Oſtend*, with Letters for Sir *George Bing*, who then lay with a ſtrong *Engliſh* Fleet off

He falls ſick of the Meaſles.

of

of *Gravelines*, to give him notice thereof; and, in the mean time, all Things were preparing for the Embarkation of the *British* Forces. On the 20th of *March* the *French* Fleet sailed from the Pits of *Newport*, about 2 in the Morning, with a fair Gale, steering for *Scotland*. And now the *French* were so confident that their Expedition could not miscarry, that they publickly boasted at Court, *That God alone could disappoint their Design.* Some Accounts added, that when the Most Christian King took his Leave of the Pretender at *St. Germains*, he said, *I wish you a good Success, and hope I shall never see you again.* 1708

The French fleet sail.

The Preparations of the *French* at *Dunkirk* gave some Uneasiness to the States, and especially to the Province of *Zealand*, which seemed threaten'd with an Invasion: But such Precautions were timely taken for the Security of those Islands, that the *French* would have found it impossible to attack them with any Success. Their Territories being thus secured, their High Mightinesses concerted with the *British* Ministers, the necessary Measures for preventing the Designs of the Enemy against *Great-Britain*; and the Zeal they expressed on this Occasion was so very great, that they received Thanks for it from her *Britannick* Majesty.

The States alarmed, But prepare to assist Qu. Anne.

We must now leave the two Fleets a little to themselves, to take notice of what passed in the mean time at *London*, where Mr. Secretary *Boyle* acquainted the House of Commons, on the 4th of *March*, That her Majesty had commanded him to lay before that House several Advices, received the last Night and that Morning, of great Preparations at *Dunkirk* for an immediate Invasion upon *England* by the *French*, and of the pretended Prince of *Wales* being come to *Dunkirk* for that Purpose. Upon which the Lords and Commons presented to her Majesty an Address, wherein they return'd their most hearty Thanks to her Majesty, *to the*

The Designs of the French fleet.

Boyle of the British *Parliament.*

Address of both Houses to the Queen.

1708 ' for being graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to
' them the Intelligence ſhe had received, of an
' intended Invaſion of this Kingdom, by the pre-
' tended Prince of *Wales*, ſupported by a *French*
' Power.

" We are ſo ſenſible (ſay they) of the Happi-
" neſs we enjoy under your Majeſty, and are ſo af-
" fected with the dangerous Conſequences of ſuch
" an Attempt, both to your Perſon and Govern-
" ment, that, with Hearts full of Concern for
" your Majeſty's Safety, we beſeech your Maje-
" ſty, that you will be pleaſed to take particular
" Care of your Royal Perſon: And we, on our
" Parts, are fully and unanimouſly reſolved to
" ſtand by and aſſiſt your Majeſty with our Lives
" and Fortunes, in Maintenance of your un-
" doubted Right and Title to the Crown of theſe
" Realms, againſt the pretended Prince of *Wales*,
" and all other your Enemies, both at Home
" and Abroad.

" The Care your Majeſty has taken for the
" Defence of your Dominions, and particularly
" in fitting out ſo great a Fleet in ſo ſhort a Time,
" gives Satisfaction and Encouragement to all
" your good Subjects, who are likewiſe very
" ſenſible of the Zeal the States-General have
" ſhewn upon this Occaſion.

" As a farther Inſtance of our Duty, we hum-
" bly deſire, that you would be pleaſed to order
" that the Laws againſt Papiſts and Nonjurors be
" put in Execution; and that Directions be given
" to ſeize and ſecure ſuch Perſons, with their
" Horſes and Arms, as your Majeſty ſhall have
" cauſe to ſuſpect are diſaffected to your Perſon
" or Government.

" And as we doubt not but (by the Bleſſing of
" God upon the Continuance of your Majeſty's
" Care) your Enemies will be put to Confuſion;
" ſo we readily embrace this Opportunity, to ſhew
" to your Majeſty and the whole World, that no

" Attempts

" Attempts of this Kind ſhall deter us from ſup- 1708
" porting your Majeſty in a vigorous Proſecution
" of the preſent War againſt *France*, till the Mo-
" narchy of *Spain* be reſtored to the Houſe of
" *Auſtria*, and your Majeſty have the Glory to
" compleat the Recovery of the Liberties of *Eu-*
" *rope*."--- To which Addreſs her Majeſty return-
ed a ſuitable Anſwer.

The 11th of *March* the Queen went to the
Houſe of Peers, and paſſed ſeveral Acts; and af- *Queen's*
terwards made a Speech to both Houſes, in which *Speech upon*
ſhe acquainted them, " That ſhe had received Ad- *the Pre-*
" vices that Morning from *Oſtend*, that the *French tender's*
" Fleet ſailed from *Dunkirk* on *Tueſday*, at Three *ſailing.*
" in the Morning, Northward, with the Pre-
" tender on Board; as alſo that Sir *George Bing*
" had notice of it the ſame Day at Ten: And he
" being very much ſuperior to the Enemy, both
" in Number and Strength, her Majeſty made no
" Queſtion but (by God's Bleſſing) he would ſoon
" be able to give a good Account of them." The
Queen added, " That ſhe had alſo Advice, that
" 10 Battalions of her Troops were embarked at
" *Oſtend*, ready to ſail with their Convoy, as
" there ſhould be Occaſion; and that ſhe ſhould
" continue to take all proper Meaſures for diſap-
" pointing the Enemy's Deſigns."

The Lords and Commons, in Return, preſented
to her Majeſty their ſeveral Addreſſes; which I
ſhall not here inſert, nor any other Pieces of that
Nature, the above being ſufficient to ſhew the
Unanimity of Queen and Parliament at that
time, and the Folly of the *French* Attempt
againſt a *Britiſh* Government thus happily ce-
mented.

While this paſſed at *London*, ſome Perſons, ap- *The* Scots
pointed by the Commiſſion of the General Aſſem- *appoint a*
bly, appeared before the Council, and preſented *Faſt.*
the Requeſt of the Commiſſion, that there might
be a Day of General Faſt and Humiliation to God,

1708 to implore his Mercy, and avert or defeat the threatened Invaſion; together with an Act they had formed thereupon, to which they craved the Civil Sanction; and the Lords of Privy Council agreed thereto,

Account of the French Fleet from Sir George Bing.

On the 16th an Expreſs arrived at *London* from Sir *George Bing*, with Letters dated the 13th, from on Board the *Medway*, off of the *Frith* of *Edinburgh*, importing, that the Fleet under his Command anchored the Night before off of that *Frith*, and ſaw the 13th, in the Morning, the *French* Fleet in the Mouth of the *Frith*, where they came likewiſe the 12th. They weighed the 13th in the Morning, upon the Appearance of the *Britiſh* Fleet, and ſtood off from them, and Sir *George* made all the Sail he could after them. The Fleets were within two or three Leagues of each other. Sir *George* ſent a Boat to the *Iſle of May*, from whence he had an Account, that the Enemy ſent a Ship the 12th up into *Leith* Road, with a Blue Flag at the Main-top-maſt-head, and that they heard ſeveral Guns fire, in the Manner of a Salute, as they thought; and the Ship came down again the next Morning, and was ſeen within two Leagues off of the *Engliſh* Fleet, but without a Flag.

From Dunbar.

About the ſame time arrived Letters from *Dunbar*, which imported, that the 12th, about Noon, a Frigate of 26 Guns paſſed by that Place, and ſtood into the *Frith*, to view the Ships in *Leith* Road. About Four, another Frigate of 24 Guns appeared off of *Dunbar*, and ſeemed to cruize about the Road, as if ſhe waited for ſome Intelligence from the Shore. About Six in the Evening, they ſaw a great many Ships right off the Place, one of which had a White Flag on her Top-maſt-head: Whereupon the Militia ſtood to their Arms on the Shore, and the Dragoons; who lay there, kept Patroles all the Night, to prevent any Deſcent; but the Enemy did not attempt it, They made

made ſeveral Signals; and one Mr. *Hepburn*, formerly a Servant to the late Lord *Dundee*, being very ſolicitous to go on Board that Fleet, which he pretended was come from *London*, was ſeized Priſoner, and carried away by the Dragoons. 1708

The 17th an Expreſs arrived from the Earl of *Leven*, General of the Forces in *Scotland*. and Governor of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, with Letters dated the 13th, late at Night, which confirmed, that the *Britiſh* and *French* Fleets were ſeen off of the Mouth of the *Frith*, and ſo near one another, that they appeared to be but the ſame Fleet. The ſaid Lord *Leven* received that Night a Letter from a Gentleman of Note in *Fife*, importing, that that Day, at Four o'Clock, they heard a canonading at Sea, which made them believe that the two Fleets were engaged. The *French*, it ſeems. over-ſhot the Place, where they intended to go; for they were ſeen off of *Montroſs*, before they appeared in the *Frith* of *Edenburgh*. *From the Earl of Leven.*

The 15th a Fleet appeared off of the Mouth of the *Frith*, ſtanding in for the ſame: Whereupon the Earl of *Leven* drew up all the ſtanding Forces in *Edinburgh*, and Part of the Militia, and marched to *Leith*, to oppoſe any Deſcent, in caſe thoſe Ships proved to be the *French* Fleet. His Lordſhip being arrived there, there came on Shore an Officer from Sir *George Bing*, by whom his Lordſhip was informed, that the *Britiſh* Fleet having chaſed the Enemy from *Saturday* Morning till the Afternoon, ſome of the *Britiſh* Ships came up with the *French*, and began an Engagement; but the Enemy being unwilling to run any Hazard, made all the Sail they could to get away, and ſo made their Eſcape. *Sir George Bing chaſes the French.*

The *Leopard*. one of her Majeſty's Ships, Captain *Gordon* Commander, came up with the *Salisbury*, a *French* Ship of 52 Guns, which ſtruck to the *Leopard*, and ſurrendered. There *The Salisbury taken.*

1708 were 700 Soldiers on Board, and a *French* Lieutenant-General; beſides ſeveral *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh* Gentlemen; and amongſt others the Lord *Griffin*, and two Sons of the Earl of *Middleton*.

The *French* pretended, that the Count *de Forbin* had reſolved to land his Forces, Seamen, Artillery, and Ammunition; to burn his Ships, and fortify a Poſt: But the Council of the Pretender did not think fit to expoſe his Perſon; and ſeeing that the *Scots* did not anſwer the Signals agreed upon, out of Fear of the *Engliſh* Fleet, or Infidelity, as they called it, they reſolved to return Home. They gave out, that the Chevalier was furniſhed with very fine Tents, and a great deal of Gold, Silver-gilt, and Silver Plate, of an exquiſite Workmanſhip; with Cloaths for his Life Guards, Liveries for his Houſhold, and other Neceſſaries.

I ſhall here add to theſe Pieces Extracts of two Letters more, one from on Board the *Medway* the other from an Officer concerned in the Expedition; leaving moſt of the Reflections on it to be made at the End of the Year, that I may not too long detain the Reader from the immediate Subject of this Hiſtory, the Atchievements of th Duke of *Marlborough*. The firſt Letter is dated *March* the 15th. "

A Letter from on Board Sir George Bing's *Ship.*

" We chaſed the Enemy (ſays the Writer) to the Northward of *Buccaneſs*, " ſometimes with reaſonable Hopes of coming up " with them. The *Dover* and *Ludlow-Caſtle* being " the only clean-ſailing Ships we had, they were " the firſt which came up with the Enemy's Squa " dron, paſſing by ſome of the ſmaller to engage " ſome of the larger Ships, and ſtop them till " they could be relieved. They attacked two or " three of their Ships, among which was the " *Saliſbury*: They did not part with them till " more of our Ships arrived, but worked their " Ships in a handſome Manner to cut them off

from

" from the reſt of the Fleet; but, in the Dark- 1708
" neſs of the Night, they all got out of Sight,
" except the *Saliſbury*, who falling in amongſt our
" head-moſt Ships, the *Leopard* entered Men on
" board her. We were informed by the Officers
" who where taken, that there were 12 Battalions
" on board their Squadron. The Number and
" Strength of their Ships * are very near the Ac-
" count we lately received from *Dunkirk*, nor
" were they joined by the *Breſt* Men of War;
" and they further aſſure us, that the Ships our
" Out-ſcouts ſaw off of *Calais* were Privateers
" and their Prizes going into *Dunkirk*.

The Admiral, ſeeing no Likelihood of coming up again with the Enemy, took Station in the *Frith* of *Edinburgh*, and continued there till he was informed of the Return of the Enemy to *Dunkirk*, wiſely foreſeeing, that notwithſtanding the Reports they had ſpread of their ſtrong Party in the North of *Scotland*, their true Deſign was upon the Capital City. This and ſome other curious Particulars are confirmed in the other Extract, from a Letter written by an *Iriſh* or *Scotch* Officer, who being in the Intereſt of the Pretender, deſerves the more to be credited in ſeveral Particulars. It is dated at *Dunkirk*, *April* 12, N.S.

This Gentleman informs his Friend, " That on the 9th their Prince arrived at *Dunkirk* again, and that they were all in ſo miſerable a Condition, that the Soldiers, when they crept aſhore, looked more like Rats than Men. The Prince ſuffered much in his Health, and, what with Fatigue and Chagrin, looked very thin; but, to put a good Face on the Matter, he dreſſed himſelf in a fine em-

* About 32 Ships, moſt of them ſmall. Sir *George Bing*'s Fleet, according to a Liſt ſent to General *Cadogan*, conſiſted of 40 Ships of the Line, and 116 Frigates.

1708 broidered Suit, and a blue Feather in his Hat, when he went ashore. where he was received by Abundance of Ladies in their Coaches, with Looks that very much resembled an *English* Funeral. When he went off, the Noise was all over. *Long Live the King*; but at his Return shrugging of Shoulders and shaking of Heads gave a dismal Welcome.

I need not tell you (he continues) that the Foundation of our whole Design was the Castle of *Edinburgh*; which miscarrying, by the Arrival of the *English* Fleet, the Prince's Council did not think fit to land any where else. The Plan of this Castle was laid before a Council of General Officers at *Versailles*; and it was unanimously concluded, that, with the Troops, Mortars, and Bombs, which we carried, it could not hold out above three Days. We designed to have made a false Attack at the *Postern-Gate*, while three Battalions should enter the Out-works that front the City, and lodge under their Half-Moon, which would oblige them the next Day to surrender. By the Taking of this Castle, we should have had the Regalia; and, I am told, two Protestant Archbishops would have crowned our Prince in the High Church. The Equivalent from *Engiand*, being also in this Castle, would have been a great Supply to us for raising Men; we having above 400 Officers with us for that Purpose, all pretty Fellows, that have served in the Wars of *Italy* and *Spain*; and above 100 Chests of Money."

The Folly of this Expedition.

Thus ended to the Disgrace of the *French*, an Expedition which had alarmed the Confederacy: For they could not fancy, that the *French* Court would so far expose their Reputation, as to notify an Enterprize of this Nature to Foreign Princes, as if it could not miscarry, unless they had certain Assurances, that the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* was for the Pretender. This was doubtless their Opinion; for otherwise they would never have credited

credited the impertinent Report of the Chevalier *de Rambure*, who declared in a Letter publiſh'd in the *Paris Gazette*, that there were not 1500 Men in the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* againſt the Pretender. 1708

Major-General *Cadogan*, having cauſed 11 *Britiſh* Battalions to embark for *Great-Britain*, thoſe Troops arrived at *Tinmouth*, under Convoy of Flanders Rear-Admiral *Baker*; but they were a few Days after ordered back for *Flanders*, and ſome of the Troops that were marching from *England* for *Scotland* were ordered to be ſhipped off for the ſame Service. *The Troops ſent from return thither.*

This Deſign of the Enemy proved advantageous to the Allies, quickened their Reſolutions, and convinced them more and more of the Neceſſity of humbling the exorbitant Power of *France*. On the other hand, it afforded an Opportunity to the Government to diſtinguiſh, thro' the various Pretences of Men, thoſe who were truly loyal to her Majeſty, and faithful to the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant, Line, from ſome others who talked as much of Proteſtantiſm, and yet were for a Popiſh Pretender. The People of *Great-Britain* appeared unanimous againſt the Enemy, and there was no Riſing in *Scotland*, as had been expected. The Government indeed took care to prevent it, and ſecured ſeveral Perſons, whoſe Conduct had given Room for Suſpicion. The Pope, who was deeply concerned in this Expedition, loſt his Money to no Purpoſe, and the Expoſition of the Sacrament for forty Hours in the Churches of the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *Iriſh* at *Rome*, for imploring God's Aſſiſtance on the Enterpriſe of the Pretender, ſerved only to ſhew the Foppery of that idle Superſtition. *This Alarm advantageous to the Allies.*

Prince *Eugene*, who was to ſerve this Year in the *Netherlands*, having ſignified to the Duke of *Marlborough* the Time of his Departure for the *Hague*, his Grace embarked as ſoon as he had certain Advice that the Enemy was returned to *Dun-* *Pr.* Eugene *and the D.* Marlbo- *of* rough *arrived at the* Hague.

1708 *Dunkirk*, and arrived at the *Hague* three Days after his Serene Highneſs. They continued every Day in Conference with the Penſionary and the Deputies of the States, to concert the Operations of War, which were all kept with the utmoſt Secrecy. Theſe Conferences made the *French* very uneaſy, and the Precautions they took to ſecure their Frontiers on the Side of the *Moſelle* were a plain Indication that they were afraid of being attacked that Way.

The two Confederate Generals having finiſhed their Negotiation at the *Hague*, Prince *Eugene* ſet out the 20th of *April* for *Daſſeldorp*, where he arrived the 22d, and was received with the Reſpect due to his Birth and Merit. He had immediately after his Arrival a Conference with the Elector *Palatine*, and finiſhed his Negotiations the next Day; ſo that after having diſpatched an Expreſs for *Vienna*, his Highneſs ſet out the 24th for *Hanover*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, departed from the *Hague* the 22d: And theſe Princes had ſo well concerted their Meaſures, that on the 26th they met within two Leagues of *Hanover*, and arrived there together. They alighted at the *Britiſh* Envoy's and his Grace went a few Minutes after to Court, and had Audience of the Elector. Prince *Eugene* did the ſame ſome time after; and the Ceremonial of the Audiences of the Electoral Family being over, they had the ſame Evening a long Conference with the Elector who would not ſuffer them to lodge any where elſe than in the Palace. They continued their Conferences the 27th and 28th, wherein they concerted every thing for the Campaign. The 29th Prince *Eugene* ſet out for *Lipſick*, to confer with King *Auguſtus*, who was come thither on Purpoſe from *Dreſden* the 27th. His Highneſs arrived there the 1ſt of May, and having finiſhed his Negotiations ſet out the next Day for *Vienna*. He concluded a Treaty with King

They go to Hanover.

Auguſtus

Auguſtus for a Body of his Forces, and removed the Difficulties which had obſtructed the Negotiations of the Envoys of the Electors of *Mentz* and *Brunſwick*. 1708

The Duke of *Marlborough* made but a ſhort Stay at *Hanover* after Prince *Eugene*; for his Grace ſet out the 30th of *April*, and arrived at the *Hague* the 3d of *May*. His Grace communicated to the States the Reſolutions taken at *Hanover*; and having concerted ſome farther Meaſures for the Opening of the Campaign, ſet out the 7th for *Ghent*, where having reviewed the *Britiſh* Forces, he departed for *Bruſſels*, and arrived there the 11th, being every where received with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect. Having conferred with M. *d' Auverquerque*, his Grace gave Orders for the Troops to march the 20th to *Anderlecht* near *Bruſſels*. *The Duke returns and puts himſelf at the Head of the Army.*

The *French* talked of Peace this Year, as they uſed to do at the opening of every Campaign; and their Agents were buſy every where to ſow Miſtruſt among the Allies. *Holland* being a free Country, where all People reſort, it was there chiefly that theſe Emiſſaries were at work, and diſcovered themſelves more openly than in other Parts. They magnified the Forces of the *French* King, the impoſſibility of driving King *Philip* out of *Spain*, and at the ſame time extolled to the Skies the ſincere Deſire of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for Peace. All this had no other Effect on the Allies, who knew the Inſincerity of *Lewis* XIV, than to make them more vigorous in the Proſecution of the War. The *Dutch* Troops, the *Pruſſians*, and the *Hanoverians*, began to form the Army the 23d, between *Anderlecht* and *Gaeſbech*, from whence they marched the 26th to *Billinghen*, where his Grace took up his Quarters. The *Britiſh* Troops. and others from *Flanders*, joined there the Army. The Duke of *Vendome*, being informed of theſe Motions, began to form *The French talk of Peace.* *The Armies form, and encamp near each other.*

his

1708 his Army the 25th, and the next Day encamped at *Soignies*, where the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Berry*, and the Chevalier *de St George*, joined them. The 29th, the Confederate Army made a Motion, and marched the Right to *Herfelingen*, and the Left to *Hall* and *Tulise*, the HeadQuarters being at *St. Renello*. This brought the two Armies pretty near, and gave Hopes of a ſudden Engagement; but the Expectations of the Allies were fruſtated for that time.

The French *retire in the Night.*

On the 31ſt, the Duke received Advice, that the Enemy had ſent for their heavy Baggage; that it was actually returned to their Camp, and that they had foraged for two Days; from when it was conjectured, that they did not intend to march the next Day, as ſome Deſerters had reported. The Generals reſolved thereupon to ſend the Army to forage next Morning, and the Foragers went out accordingly before Break of Day; But, an Hour after, Advice came, that the Enemy had ſent back their Baggage to *Mons*, and decamped about 11 without any Noiſe, marching towards *Nivelle*. His Grace's Foragers were immediately recalled with the Signal of three Guns; and, that no Time might be loſt, the Infantry marched firſt of all about noon from *St. Renello*, and were followed by the Cavalry. About Four they formed 4 Columns, intending to encamp the Right towards *Anderlecht*, and the Left to *Lake*: But upon Advice that the Enemy had not encamped at *Nivelle*, but had continued their March by *Bois Signeur Iſaac* to *Brain la Lieu*, his Grace judged that they could not have any other Deſign than to poſt themſelves on the Banks of the *Dyle*, to hinder him from paſſing that River, and ſeize *Louvain*; which was the very ſame Project that the Duke of *Vendome* had framed the preceding Year: Whereupon his Grace thought fit likewiſe to continue his March all the Night long, as the only Means to prevent the Enemy.

June

June the 3d, in the Afternoon, the Allies ar. 1708
rived in the Camp at *Terbank*, very much fatigued by the long March they had made, and the continual Rains for 24 Hours together. The *French*, having notice of this expeditious March, did not think fit to advance farther than *Genap*, and encamped with their Right to that Place, and their Left to *Brain la Lieu*. The Regiment of Dragoons of *Walef*, coming from *Aeth*, joined the Confederate Army, which was likewise reinforced with a Battalion of *Elz* from *Leau*. The Duke of *Marlborough* took up his Quarters in the Abby of *Terbank*, and the Field-Marshal *d' Auverquerque* in the Suburbs of *Louvain*. Both Armies continued here some Weeks in the same Camp; and nothing happened, except Skirmishes between Parties, which do not deserve to be mentioned in History. But this Neighbourhood occasioning a great Desertion on both Sides (for encouraging the Queen's Subjects to return to their Colours) the Duke of *Marlborough* caused a Proclamation to be published promising Pardon to all who should so return, and threatening with Death those who did not. *The Armies near again.*

On the 5th of *July*, at 11 in the Morning, his Grace received Advice, that the *French* had taken Possession of the City of *Ghent*, between 5 and 6 in the Morning. A Detachment of their Troops, commanded by the Brigadier *la Faille* and *Pasteur*, advanced before Break of Day near that Place, and sent 5 or 6 Soldiers, pretending to be Deserters, who being admitted into the Town, at the Opening of the Gates, amused the Watch, consisting of 5 or 6 of the Militia, in telling them Stories of the March of the *French* Army. This gave Time to 5 or 6 other pretended Deserters to come in, and almost at the same time Brigadier *la Faille* arrived, with several more Men. That Gentleman having been some time before High Bailiff of that City, had a great Interest in it; and being arrived, commanded the Militia to lay down their *The City of Ghent surprised by the* French.

1708 their Arms, and admit the *French* Troops; which was done accordingly, without any Oppoſition. They ſummoned the Magiſtrates at the Town-Houſe, wherein the Brigadier cauſed a Pardon for the Inhabitants to be ready, whereby they were promiſed to be maintained in their Privileges and Immunities. They ſummoned the Governor of the Caſtle to ſurrender; but he would not, and declared, that he would defend the Place to the laſt Extremity.

A fruitleſs Attempt to reinforce the Caſtle.

Major General *Murray*, with two *Engliſh* Regiments of Foot, and a *Spaniſh* Regiment of Dragoons of Colonel *d' Audignies*, being poſted at *Marienkerke*, endeavoued to throw a Reinforcement into the Caſtle of *Ghent* but was prevented, and had 3 Men killed and ſome wounded; whereupon he retired to *Sas van Ghent* where he found the Deputies of the States for the Affairs of *Flanders*; with whom he had a Conference, to adviſe what was to be done in the preſent Conjuncture. This Surrender alarming the Allies, the Governor of *Sas* thought fit to reinforce the Garriſon of the *Red-Houſe* with 50 Men, and the Deputies countermanded the March of the Regiment of *Elberfeldt*, which was advancing to *Elkolo* Major-General *Murray* poſted his Troops under the Cannon of Fort *Leopoldus*; but the next Morning received Orders from the Duke of *Marlborough* to endeavour to join Major General *Bothmar*, who was detached from the Great Army, with 3 Regiments of Dragoons, and one of Horſe. He paſſed accordingly the Canel; but receiving Advice from M. *Bothmar*, that their Conjunction was impracticable, he returned the 7th to his former Poſt. The Deputies gave in the mean time, ſeveral Orders for ſecuring the Poſts that were moſt expoſed. The Garriſon of the Fort of the *Red-Houſe* was farther reinforced with 100 Men and a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions

and

and Ammunition. Two Hundred Dragoons of the Regiment *d' Audignies* were detached for ſecuring the Lines of *Bierwliet*, and 40 were ſent to *Hulſt*. 1708

The City of *Bruges* ſurrendered the 6th to the Enemy, without offering any Reſiſtance; but made a ſort of Capitulation, wherein the Sieur *Briel*, Receiver of the Contributions, and his Comptroller *Volmer*, were included. It was thought fit, upon this Advice, to reinforce the Garriſon of *Damme* with all the Troops that were in *Sluyce*, except 50 Men; and the ſame Evening his Grace received Advice, that that Place was to be inveſted. The Governor of the Caſtle of *Ghent*, deſpairing of being relieved, thought fit to ſurrender that Place upon honourable Terms and delivered one of their Gates the 8th in the Morning. The *French* Soldiers very much abuſed the *Engliſh* that were in *Ghent*, and plundered moſt of them, which their Officers might eaſily have prevented. Bruges ſurrenders to the Enemy. As does the Caſtle of Ghent.

As this Pardon, publiſhed in *Ghent*, by Brigadier *La Faille*, bore date the 12th of *May*, it ſhewed that this Deſign was of a long Standing, and not the Effect of ſudden Meaſures taken by the *French* Generals. The Deputies of the States received Advice, that ſome of the eminent Burghers were concerned therein, and that the Deſign of betraying *Antwerp* to the Enemy, which was happily diſcovered in *May*, was to take Effect after the ſeizing of *Ghent*, and grounded there upon. Theſe Intrigues were probably the chief Motives which obliged, on a ſudden, the *French* King to appoint the Duke of *Burgundy* to command his Army in the *Netherlands*; for had the Deſign taken Effect, that young Prince, according to the *French* Cuſtom, would have been cried up as the ableſt General in the World. *Reflection on the Taking of theſe Places*

The Enemy having been obliged to quit their Camp of *Brain la Lieu*, for ſupporting their intended

1708 tended Conquests, the Duke of *Marlborough* decamped likewise from *Terbank* He passed the Canal the 5th of *July* in 4 Columns, and encamped with his Left at *Anderlecht*, and his Right at the Mill *de Tomberg*; where, hearing of the Enemy's Intelligence in *Ghent*, and of their Detachment, his Grace sent 4 Regiments of Dragoons to *Dendermond*, to have prevented the Designs of the *French* upon that Town, but they came too late. That same Day the *French* passed the *Senne* at *Hall* and *Tubise*, and were passing at the Mill of *Goicke* till Night, within a League of our Right Wing, which came very late into its Camp. The Army having made a long March thro' difficult Ways, it was not possible to attack the Enemy that Night.

Motions of the two Armies before the Battle of Oudenarde

The 6th, in the Morning, the Confederate Army was drawn up in Battle, the greatest Part of the Horse and Foot having been brought to the Right in the Night. The Enemy had the whole Night, with all possible Diligence, passed over the *Dender* through the Town of *Ninove*, and over Bridges which were made near it for that Purpose; so that the Detachment, sent to attack their Rear-guard, came too late to find any thing but their small Baggage, and the Detachment that guarded it. Major General *Thulenberg* and Sir *Richard Temple*, with ten Squadrons and five Battalions, beat the Escort, and took a great deal of Baggage. Their Detachment was sustained by Major General *Duveene*, with 10 Squadrons more. That Night, the Duke of *Marlborough* encamped at *Asche*. The Enemies Camp extended itself from above *Alost* to *Schillebillie* on the *Scheld*. Prince *Eugene* arrived at *Asche*, having left his Horse at *Maestricht*. The next Day the Army continued at *Asche*: A Regulation was made for the Baggage, and Pioneers were sent out on every Side to make Ways.

The Enemies Escort beaten.

The

The 8th, being *Sunday*, the Duke of *Marlborough* was very ill of a violent fevereſh Diſtemper, but was much better towards the Evening. Orders were givin, during the Indiſpoſition of his Grace, at M. *d' Auverquerque*'s Quarters. There were four Battalions ſent in to reinforce the Garriſon of *Bruſſels*; and eight Squadrons, and as many Battalions, ordered away with Major-General *Cadogan* and the Quarter-Maſters, to make the Ways. 1708

The 9th, the Army marched in four Columns by the left; all the Horſe of the Right Wing in one Column on the Right, the Horſe of the Left in a Column on the Left, and the Foot of both Lines breaking in the Middle in two Columns in the Center. The Earl of *Albermarle* was left with all the Grenadiers of the Army, and 30 Squadrons to make the Rear-guard, in caſe the Enemy ſhould have made any Movement toward *Bruſſels*.

This Morning, the Duke of *Marlborough* heard that the Detachments of 700 Men from *Aetb*, *Courtray*, and *Menin*, were ſafely got into *Oudenarde*, and that Brigadier *Chanclos*,, who had likewiſe flung himſelf into the Town, was not in any apprehenſion for the ſafety of it. *Waliff*'s Dragoons were likewiſe to be in the Town this Morning from *Aeth*, whether they had been ſent from *Aſche* for that End. The Regulation touching the Baggage was exactly obſerved, and the Ways being well made, the Army marched in beautiful Order, and with prodigious Expedition. The Head was paſſed *Herſelinghen*, which is above 5 Leagues from *Aſche*, before 11 o'Clock. The Lines perfectly cloſed up without ſtraggling or any thing left behind. The Duke of *Marlborough* gave Orders for the Army to pitch their Tente juſt in their March, fronting towards the Enemy. The *French*, who were far from expecting that the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army was able to make ſuch a March, did not beat their General till Three in the Afternoon, reckoning themſelves ſure of the

Expeditious March of the Allies.

Camp

1708 Camp of *Leſſines*, in which they deſigned to cover the Siege of *Oudenarde*, which they had inveſted this Morning, their Artillery being ready at *Tourney*. At Seven the Retreat was beat, which was the Signal for ſtriking the Tents, and marching immediately. The Army marched all Night and Major-General *Cadogan*, with his Detachment, having taken Poſt and made Bridges over the *Dender* at *Leſſines*, the Army began to paſs at Eleven o'Clock on *Tueſday* the 10th, and continued their March to the Camp on the other Side. The Rivulet that falls into the *Dender*, below the Camp of *Leſſines*, is what makes the Strength of that Situation. The Enemy finding themſelves diſappointed of this Camp, left their Route towards the Camp of *Leſſines*, in which *The* French they had marched ſeveral Hours, and faced to-
paſs the wards *Gavre*, to paſs the *Scheld* there.
Scheld. *Wedneſday* Morning, the 11th, News came that the Enemy had quitted *Oudenarde*. Brigadier *Chanclos* charged their Rear-guard with *Waleff*'s Dragoons; and Major-General *Cadogan* was ſent with 16 Battalions and 8 Squadrons, to make the Ways and Bridges at *Oudenarde*. The Army began to march at Eight o'Clock by the Left, ſtill in four Columns, as it had encamped. After the News came of the Enemies being ſtill paſſing at *Gavre*, and that there were Hopes of coming to Action, the Army marched with ſo great Expedition, that the Head was, at two o'Clock in the Afternoon, at the Bridges over which the 16 Battalions that were with Major-General *Cadogan* were then paſſing. The eight Squadrons, and the Quarter-Maſters, with Major-General *Rantzau*, were poſted on an Eminence behind the Rivulet that runs into the *Scheld*. They ſaw a great many *French* Squadrons drawn up on the Plan, on the other Side of the Rivulet; and the March of the *French* Army being directed towards their Right, they had flung 7 Battalions of Foot into *Heaurne*,

through

through which the Highway runs along the *Scheld*. The Rivulet above is marſhy, and hardly paſſable for Horſe, tho' very narrow. Theſe Appearances made it uncertain, whether their true Deſign was to hinder the Duke of *Marlborough*'s paſſing the *Scheld*, or to gain their own Lines between *Liſle* and *Tournay*, which they might expect to have Time enough to do. For they could by no means imagine ſuch a vaſt Army could march five Leagues in a very cloſe Country, have their Ways made, paſs a great River, and give them Diſturbance, all in one Day. 1708

About Three o'Clock, the *French* Cavalry in that Plain, before our Advanced-Guards, began to diſappear, taking their March towards their own Right, Then Major-General *Cadogan*, who, between 3 and 4, with 12 of the 16 Battalions, had paſſed the Bridge, attacked the Village *Heaurne* with ſuch Bravery (Brigadier *Sabine*, with his Brigade, being at the Head) that they ſoon made themſelves Maſters of the Village; in which were 7 *French* Battalions, three of which were taken entire, as was the greater Part of the other four. *Battle of* Oudenarde. Cadogan *takes the Village* Heaurne *with* 7 *Battalions*.

Immediately after, Major-General *Rantzau*, at the Head of the 8 Squadrons, with the Quarter-Maſters, paſſed the Rivulet, and advanced into the Plain, where the *French* Horſe had been drawn up between the Villages of *Rötze* and *Mullon*. A great many Squadrons of their Rear-guard ſtill paſſing through that Plain, the 8 Squadrons, with the Quarter-Maſters, being formed into Squadrons, attacked them with great Vigour, and drove them into the cloſe Ground and the Highway that led into the March of their own Army. Here it was that the Prince Electoral of *Hanover* (now King of *Great-Britain*) diſtinguiſhed himſelf, charging with his Sword in his Hand at the Head of a Squadron of *Bulau*'s Dragoons. His Horſe was ſhot under him, and Colonel *Luſcky*, that commanded the Squadron, was killed, fighting bravely by him. *Bravery of the Electoral Prince of* Hanover.

1708 him. Lieutenant-General *Shullenbergh*, and ſeveral other Voluntiers, behaved themſelves with great Spirit, and led up theSquadrons. Here the *French* Regiment of *La Bertoſche*, and ſeveral other Regiments, were entirely broke. The Colonel *La Bertoſche*, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken; as were many other Officers, with 12 Standards and Kettle-drums,

In the mean time the Troops continued to paſs the Bridges with great Diligence. The *Pruſſian* Horſe formed themſelves upon the Right, in the ſame Plain where our Advanced Guard was; and the reſt of the Horſe, as they paſſed, followed the *Pruſſians* through the Village of *Heaurne* into the Plain. The Foot, by reaſon of the Length of the March, and that the Horſe had gallop'd a great Part of the Way, arrived later at their Bridges, ſo that till Five o'Clock there was no Foot, except the 16 Battalions.

The Duke haſtens the Coming up of theFoot.

My Lord Duke, with Prince *Eugene*, being paſſed into the Plain, to the Head of the Horſe, where they were forming, and perceiving the great Need there was of Foot, ſent Orders to the Foot that had been employed in the Attack of the Village, to leave theirPoſt there, and fling themſelves into the Hedges on the other Side of the Plain, towards which the Enemy ſeemed to be marching with great Diligence. There was then but two Battalions of our on that Side of the Plain, which were Major-General *Collier*'s and Brigadier *Grumchon*'s. They were attacked with great Fury, but maintained their Poſt with prodigious Bravery till more Foot came up to ſuſtain them, long afterwards. The Duke ſent Orders after Orders to the Foot to preſs their March, the *French* being then forming, and ready to attack the Foot that was there with very unequal Numbers. In this Time the Duke of *Argyle* arrived with 20 Battalions: They were hardly poſted when the *French* attacked them with great Fury, driving ſome *Pruſſian* Bat-

Who arrive.

talions

talions from their Poſt, which, notwithſtanding the Inequality of Numbers, they retook again Sword in Hand. This happened about Six in the Evening. Count *Lottum*, by this Time, was coming up with the reſt of the Foot of the Right, to ſuſtain this Attack. His Grace finding the great Effort was like to be made on the Right, ſent to the Left for 20 Battalions. The Left Wing, which had paſſed their Horſe through *Oudenarde*, and the Foot, over Bridges below the Town made for that Purpoſe, arriving ſome Time later than the Right, had formed themſelves in two Lines, with the Village of *Merghem* behind them. 1708

As ſoon as the Foot arrived, they formed themſelves in two Lines before the Horſe, and then attacked, in very good Order, the Incloſures and Villages in the Front, wherein the *French* were poſted. About Seven o'Clock the Fire grew univerſal both on the Right and Left. In moſt Places the *French* gave way; but, being ſuſtained with freſh Troops, the Action was maintained very obſtinately a good while after. Before the Left of the Left Wing there was a kind of an Opening, through which run a Road that led into the Plain on the Top of the Hill. The Prince of *Frieſe*, at the Head of the *Dutch* Foot, cleared this Opening. In the Inſtant in which this was performing, my Lord *Marlborough* arrived at the Left, Prince *Eugene* taking care of the Right. At the ſame time the Fire was ſeen to go into the Wood, the *French* ſeeming to yield almoſt every where. *The Enemy give way.*

My Lord Duke ſent Orders to M *d'Auverquerque* and Count *Tilly*, on the Top of the Hill, to preſs the *French* as much as they could on that Side. Accordingly they paſſed the *Daniſh* Horſe through a narrow Defile, into a Field where all the *French* Houſhold were drawn up under the Hedges. Round this great Field, being poſſeſſed by the *French*, the Prince of *Frieſe* brought in the Foot;

1708 Foot; and having formed them in two Lines, he led them on with great Reſolution, the *French* every where giving way. The Count *d'Oxenſtierne* was along with this Prince and the Foot. This happened to be upon theFlank of the *French*; ſo that moſt of thoſe that were retiring, being beaten from the Right to the Left, were forced back again into the Incloſures in great Diſorder; ſo that at laſt, when it was growing dark, many Battalions, and more Squadrons, flung themſelves out in a deſperate Manner. Some of them, piercing through others, were cut to Pieces; ſome were forced back; ſome paſſed through unperceived, and others aſked to capitulate for their whole Regiment.

Their great Confuſion.

The Diſorder was now ſo very great, and the Fire directed ſo many different Ways at once, that it was impoſſible to know Friends from Foes; for which Reaſon poſitive Orders were given to fire no more till Morning, and rather let the Enemies eſcape, than for the Victors to venture putting themſelves in Confuſion.

The Fire ſuſpended.

During the greateſt Part of this Action, M. *d'Auverquerque* was on Horſeback at the Head of the Troops, in the hotteſt of the Fire; Count *Tilly* was at the Head of the Horſe; and the Prince of *Wirtemberg* animated the Troops every where by his own Example, ſhewing himſelf in all Places where the Enemy appeared. A great many Squadrons of the *French* Houſhold, which advanced to ſupport their Foot, were broke to Pieces. Lieutenant-General *Rantzau* diſtinguiſhed himſelf very much on this Occaſion.

Bravery of the Generals.

On the Right, while the Duke of *Marlborough* was on the Left, Prince *Eugene* having made Openings with the Foot, ſent in the Horſe to a little Plain to attack the *French* Cavalry, which they did with very good Succeſs: But purſuing too far, they ſuffered by the Fire of the Foot, and by freſh Horſe that came pouring down upon them.

The

The *Pruſſian Gendarms* diſtinguiſhed themſelves very much, and loſt very near the Half of their Number in this Action. Lieutenant-General *Watſmore*, who ſhewed a great deal of Valour in commanding that Attack, was, at the Head of thoſe Troops, wounded ſlightly above the Eye. 1708

Towards Night, the *French* hardly made any more Reſiſtance any where, every thing ſeeming to be in the laſt Diſorder. Had there been two Hours more of Light, in all Probability their whole Body of Foot, and their Right Wing of Horſe, had been entirely cut off; they being very near ſurrounded. As ſoon as it was dark, their Troops retired by the Road that goes through the Village of *Huyſen*, from *Oudenarde* to *Ghent*. Their Artillery and Baggage were not come up; ſo that, in all the Action, they did not make uſe of above four Pieces of Cannon. As ſoon as it was light next Morning, the Troops that had lain upon their Arms all Night were ready; but the Enemy was gone, leaving only ſome Foot, and 25 Squadrons for their Rear-guard. *The Night favourable to the French.*

The Duke of *Marlborough* ordered 40 Squadrons from the Right, commanded by the Lieutenant-Generals *Bulau* and *Lumley*, with a conſiderable Body of Foot, to attack them: But the *French* having flung themſelves into the Highway that runs to *Ghent*, they were followed only by four Battalions and 40 Squadrons. The Grenadiers of the 4 Battalions puſhed 12 Companies of the *French* Grenadiers, who were poſted along the Highway, to ſecure their Retreat. The Head of the Squadrons, falling into the Fire of the *French* Grenadiers, had ſeveral Officers and Soldiers killed and wounded; but the Regiment of *Pentz* ſuffered moſt. Of the Grenadiers commanded by Major *Erwing*, ſeveral Officers were killed and wounded on this Occaſion. Major-General *Meredith* was ſlightly wounded with a Muſket-ſhot, on the Bone of the Cheek. *Action the next Morning.*

On

1708 On the Enemies Side a great many were killed and taken. The Regiment of *Riſbourg* was entirely ruined, being the laſt Regiment that ſtood. Two entire Companies were taken. Brigadier, *Pourrienne*, who commanded the laſt Brigade was taken, with many other Officers. Their Rear-guard was puſhed within leſs than two Leagues of *Ghent*; but there being only one Road, without any Place to form in, and the Foot being very much tired, it was not thought fit to purſue them any farther. What remained of their Army retired under the Cannon of *Ghent*.

In which the Enemy ſuffer.

Loſs on both Sides.

The Loſs of the *French*, in this Action, amounted to above 4000 left dead on the Place: They carried off 5000 Wounded, and had about 7000 made Priſoners On the Side of the Allies only 2000 were ſlain, and about the ſame Number wounded. They took 34 Standards, 25 Colours, and 4 Kettle-drums.

The ſhattered Condition of the French.

The Remains of the *French* Army marched through *Ghent* in great Diſorder, having about 100 Pieces of Cannon with them, and encamped along the Canal of *Bruges*, the Duke of *Burgundy* taking his Quarters at *Bellem*. They left twenty-two Battalions for a Garriſon in the former Place, which ſuffered ſo very much in the Battle, that they were reduced to a very few Men. It was impoſſible to expreſs the Conſternation of the *French* Princes and Generals; eſpecially when they heard that the Duke of *Marlborough* was marched towards *Ipres*, had forced the Lines of *Comines*, and made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for cutting off the Communication between *France* and the *French* Army.

To confirm theſe Accounts given by the Allies we need only to make ſome Extracts from Papers written by the *French* themſelves. In one of them dated from *Paris*, we are told, that when "the "King received at *Fontainbleau* the firſt Advice "of the fatal Battle fought near *Oudenarde*, he "was

French Accounts of their own Loſs.

" was so much concerned, that he could not for- 1708
" bear to utter these Words: *Again without Suc-*
" *ces! O Spain! what Blood do you cost!*" And in another Article from *Ipres* we have these Words:
" Our Loss in the Battle near *Oudenarde* appears
" every Day much greater than was reported:
" For besides 6000 Men we lost upon the Spot,
" the Enemy took 600 Officers, and 5000 pri-
" vate Men, Prisoners. But the most remarka-
ble Piece is the Extract of a Letter from the same Place, written by a *French* Officer who was there Prisoner.

" I can only send you an unwelcome Relation *Extract of*
" of the Particulars of the Battle which happened *a Letter*
" Yesterday about two in the Afternoon near *from a*
" *Oudenarde*. 'Twill prove a great Blow to *France*; French
" for without exaggerating the Matter, we lost *Officer.*
" above 10,000 Men, killed or wounded, or
" taken. The Action was very ill managed on
" our Side; for instead of attacking the Enemy
" when they began to pass the *Scheld* near *Oude-*
" *narde* at Eleven in the Morning, we let them
" come over the River quietly, which they would
" not have adventured to do, had we in any to-
" lerable Manner offered to dispute their Passage.
" At least 40 of our best Regiments are reduced
" to a wretched Condition, the greatest Part of
" them being killed or taken; so that it will be
" a long Time before they can be re-established,
" Of four Regiments of the King's Houshold at
" least half are taken Prisoners, and among them
" are several Person of Note.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, in a Letter to Queen *Of another*
Ann, dated *July* 23, has these Expressions: " The *from the*
" Circumstances in this last Battle, I think, shew *Duke of*
" the Hand of God: For we were obliged not Marlbo-
" only to march five Leagues that Morning, but rough.
" to pass a River before the Enemy, and to en-
" gage them before the whole Army was passed;

1708 " which was a visible Mark of the Favour of " Heaven to you and your Arms."

Retreat of the French *Army.*

It was observed, that the Duke of *Burgundy*, in this Retreat, did not take the Post of Honour, but out of Modesty resigned to the Duke *de Vendome* the Care of bringing up the Rear, and arrived himself at five o'Clock the next Morning after the Battle at *Ghent*, attended by the Duke of *Berry* and the Chevalier *de St. George*. A late Author, who very much favours the *French*, and in particular the Duke *de Vendome*, tells us, " That " there was a *secret Force*, which drew the young " Prince towards that City, which made him " contend with the Duke *de Vendome* against giving " Battle till it was too late to avoid it, and till " they could not fight but with Disadvantage." *Vendome* arrived there at Nine o'Clock, and ordered the Troops to march through *Ghent*, without making any Halt, to *Lovendeghem*, on the Canal between that City and *Ghent*. Their Retreat was very disorderly, at least amongst the Foot; for the Cavalry, having had but little Share in the Action, retired in better Order. As they had left their Cannon and light Baggage at *Gavre* on the Day of the Fight, they had the good Luck to save it, and afterwards planted it on the Entrenchments they cast up along the Canal. They had above 100 Field-Pieces, besides the Cannon they found in *Ghent*. The Hospitals and publick Places in *Ghent* being not able to receive the Wounded Part of them were sent to *Bruges*.

Motion of the Allies.

The Confederate Troops being returned to their Camp, which was the Field of Battle, they rested there the 12th and 13th, while Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Deputies of the States, and M. *d'Auverquerque*, debated in a Council of War what was to be done in the Present Conjuncture; and resolved that the Army under the Duke of *Marlborough* should immediately march towards *Menin*, pass the *Lys*, level the Lines

between

between *Warneton* and *Ipres*, and hinder any Detachment from getting into *Ipres*, or the *French* Army from retiring that Way. Prince *Eugene* was to march at the ſame time towards *Bruſſels*, to aſſemble his Forces, obſerve the Motions of the Duke of *Berwick*, and hinder the *French* from retiring into *Brabant* by the ſame Way they came. According to theſe Reſolutions the Count *de Lottum*, General of the *Pruſſians*, with the Lieutenants-General *Fagel* and *Dopſt*, marched the 13th at Night, with 30 Battalions and 40 Sqnadrons, towards *Old Helchin*, and the next Day advanced towards the *French* Lines. The Fort of the *Red Bridge* was abandoned without any Reſiſtance. *Warneton*, *Comines*, and *Werwick* ſurrender'd the 15th in the Afternoon, and they took in thoſe Poſts 500 Priſoners. The ſame Day the Army, which had encamped between *Bellegen* and *Hauterive*, marched in two Columns towards *Menin*, paſſed the *Lys* on two Bridges near that Place, and encamped between *Werwick* and *Menin*. While the Lines between the *Lys* and *Ipres* were demoliſhing by a Detachment of the Army, other Detachments were ſent to raiſe Contributions as far as *Arras*; and the Deputies that came from that Country, not having been able to agree, returned home. This obliged the Generals to have recourſe to military Executions, and the Parties ſet on fire two of the Suburbs of *Arras*. Another Party advanced to *Lens* to ſet it on fire; but the Inhabitants gave Hoſtages to pay what was demanded of them. The Duke of *Marlborough* kept his Troops under a ſtrict Diſcipline; ſo that the Country People brought Plenty of Proviſions to his Camp. Prince *Eugene* lay encamped at *Enguien* with a Detachment of the Grand Army, and the Forces he brought from *Germany*, except the *Palatine* Infantry, which encamped without *Bruſſels*, near the Gates of *Louvain*, *Namure*, and *Hall*. That Prince 1708

1708 ed the Duke of *Berwick*, whose Forces were posted between *Mons* and *Condé*.

It is very remarkable, that before the Battle of *Oudenarde*, when Prince *Eugene* left his Army, and came up alone to be present at the Action, upon ordering the Troops to advance towards the enemy, his Grace told his Serene Highness, "That he was not without Hopes of feliciting "him with the Sight of a Victory at his Arrival "in *Flanders*, especially as the Troops were ani- "mated with his Highness's Presence." His Grace had indeed always a sort of noble Confidence in his good Fortune, with a long Series of uninterrupted Success could not but strengthen.

As the Consternation was very great in the Enemy's Country, by reason of the late Excursions therein, the Duke of *Marlborough* resolved to detach a more considerable Body into the *French* Territories, to extend the Contribution or proceed to military Execution, in case of Refusal.

Care taken to secure the Convoys.

The Generals and the States Deputies having taken into Consideration, that as long as the Enemies were posted between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, it was impossible for them to receive their heavy Artillery for a Siege, Orders were sent to the Governor of *Sas-van-Ghent*, to send the Boats laden with it, which had been some time in that Place, to *Antwerp*; from whence the Train could be carried to *Brussels* by means of the Canal. At the same time a new Train of 20 Battering-pieces was ordered from *Maestricht* to *Brussels*, and the Country was to furnish a sufficient Number of Horses for that Service. The Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, with the *Saxon* and *Hessian* Cavalry, continued at *Brussels*. for securing the Transport of this Artillery: And while the Allies were securing their own Convoys, ten Squadrons under Brigadier *Chanclos* were detached towards *Oudenarde*, to hinder the Enemy from receiving any Convoys from *Tournay*, where there was Advice,

vice, they had one preparing. Another Detachment of 500 Horſe, under the Prince of *Avergne* and Count *Maurice de Naſſau*, was detached at the ſame time towards *Rouſſelaar*, to cut off the Convoys of Proviſions the Enemy might receive by the Way of *Ipres*; and all poſſible Precautions were taken to ſtreighten them in their Camp, where they continued to entrench themſelves, and talked of inſulting the Frontiers of the States. But I muſt not mention every minute Motion of either Army. 1708

On the 24th of *July*, advice came to the Camp, that the Duke of *Berwick* was marched from *Doway* with 23 Squadrons, beſides the Cavalry of the Garriſon of *Liſle*, to *Tournay*, with a Deſign to attack the Baggage of the Allies in their March from *Aeth*; Whereupon the Duke of *Marlborough* detached 6 Squadrons from the Right, under the Command of Major-General *Baudits*, to re-inforce Lieutenant-General *Dompre*, who had been detached with 2000 Horſe; and ſo the Baggage came ſafe into the Camp, the Enemy not thinking fit to attack it

According to a Reſolution before taken, 50 Squadrons, 12 Battalions, and 1000 Grenadiers, were detached to march towards the Country of *Artois*, under Count *Tilly*, the Lieutenants-General Tilly. *Orkney*, *Rantzau*, and *Hompeſch*, and the Majors-General *Webb*, *Rantzau*, and Count *d' Erbach*, The Infantry were to take Poſt at *La Baſſee*; but the Cavalry to advance into the *French* Territories as far as *Picardy*, to lay them under Contribution, or put them under military Execution. *Tilly*, with the Detachment under his Command. fell in the 26th, between *La Baſſee* and *Lens*, with 800 Horſe detached from the Army of the Duke of *Berwick*, of which he killed a great many, and took a Colonel, a Major, 3 Captains, and 200 Troopers. His Troops purſued the Enemy to the Gates of *Lens*, wherein they had poſted 1400 Foot, which abandoned the Town the 27th, upon the Approach

An Excurſion, headed by Conns of

1708 of Count *Tilly*'s Infantry. That General took Poſſeſſion of the Place, and put in it 5 Battalions. Upon Advice, that a Detachment from the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Army was to join the Duke of *Berwick*, the Lieutenants-General *Dedem* and *Eaſt-Frieſland* were ſent with 20 Battalions and 15 Squadrons, with Orders to poſt themſelves at *Armentieres*, to be ready to join Count *Tilly* in caſe of Need. The Deputies of the Province of *Artois* agreed with that Count for Contributions, and ſent ſeveral Detachments towards *Picardy*. Marſhal *Boufflers* and M. *Chamillard* arrived about this time at *Liſle*, which Place the Enemy put in a good Poſture of Defence, expecting to be beſieged upon the Arrival of the Artillery, according to a Reſolution of the Confederate Generals. At laſt Count *Tilly*'s Detachment, having burnt the Suburbs of *Dourlens*, returned to the Camp with ſeveral Hoſtages from *Picardy*.

The French invade Dutch Flanders. The *French* having continued to entrench themſelves along the Canal of *Bruges*, while Count *Tilly* was raiſing Contributions in the Province of *Artois*, the Duke of *Burgundy* detached 15,000 Men, under the Command of the Chevalier *du Rozel*, to make an Irruption into *Dutch Flanders*. They advanced to the Lines of *Bierviiet*; and General *Fagel* and Major-General *Murray*, having but 3 Battalions and a Regiment of Dragoons with them, did not think fit to expoſe thoſe Troops, and therefore quitted the Lines, and put their Men into *Sluyce* and other Places. The Enemy finding the Lines unguarded, marched into the Iſland of *Caſandt*, where they plundered and burnt about 100 Houſes, and obliged the Inhabitants to agree to pay them Contributions; after which they returned to their Camp. This Invaſion made the States very uneaſy, but was not able to oblige their High-Mightineſſes to alter their Meaſures. They had wiſely provided for the Security of their Territories, without croſſing

the

the project of the Siege of *Liſle*. Mean time the *French* Deſerters reported. that their Generals could not believe the Allies would undertake a Siege of that Importance, at ſuch a Diſtance from their Magazines. They were ſurpriſed therefore at the March of the Confederate Army, and burnt moſt of their Suburbs. I ſhall not here give any Detail of that Siege, having already done it in the Hiſtory of Prince *Eugene*, who commanded it, but confine myſelf to the Motions of the Grand Army, with which the Duke of *Marlborough* covered that Enterpriſe. 1708

The Earl of *Orkney*, with the Major-General *Denhoff* and *Schuylemburg*, and 3 Brigadiers, were detached in the Night between the 18th and 19th of *Auguſt*, with 3000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, to take Poſt near *Templeuve*, to cover a Convoy of Ammunition which was going to the Camp before *Liſle*; but the March of that Convoy being countermanded, the Detachment returned into the Camp. King *Auguſtus* and the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel* being arrived the 17th at *Aeth*, in their way to the Army, the Duke of *Marlborough* met them at *Potte* on the *Scheld* the 18th, and conducted them to the Camp. His Majeſty took his Quarters at my Lord Duke's, and the Landgrave with his Son Prince *William*. The 19th, the firſt Line of the Army was drawn up, and viewed by thoſe Princes, who ſet out the 20th for the Camp before *Liſle*.

King Auguſtus and the Landgrave of Heſſe at the Duke's Camp.

The Generals having thought fit that the Grand Army ſhould make a Motion from *Helchin*, for the better covering the Siege, the Cavalry of the Left marched the 22d towards the *Scheld*, and encamped between the Villages of *Potte* and *St. Vernoux*, to be nearer at hand to paſs the *Scheld*, and form the Van-guard of the Army, which was to march by the Left. The 23d, by break of Day, 1500 Horſe, commanded by the Count *d' Erbeck* Major-General, and Brigadier *Groveſtein*, were detached with

The Army moves from Helchin.

1708 the Quarter-Masters General to mark out a Camp on the other Side of the *Scheld*; and about Seven o'Clock the whole Army marched in two Columns by the Left, passed the *Scheld* near *Potte* on four Bridges, and encamped at *Amongies*, the Right to the River near *Escanaffe*, and the Left at *Annieres*.

Motions on both Sides. On the 28th, the Duke of *Marlborough*, being encamped at *Amongies*, detached the Earl of *Athlone*, with 1500 Horse, to observe the Motions of the Enemy. That General advanced towards *Leuse*, and his Van-guard meeting with 100 Horse detached from the Army of the Duke of *Berwick*, they charged them with so much Vigour, that they ran away, and left 30 Prisoners. The same Day the Army of the Duke *de Vendome* advanced to *Ninove*, and the Duke of *Berwick* to *Enguien*, having left his Baggage behind the *Haine* near *Mons*. They had put 5 Battalions and 3 Squadrons into *Bruges*, and 12 Battalions and 7 Squadrons into *Ghent*. The two *French* Armies marched towards *Lessines* the 29th, and joined there, when all their Troops made 208 Squadrons and 126 Battalions. Upon those Marches, the Duke of *Marlborough* thought fit to repass the *Scheld*, and encamped again at *Helchin*, from whence he marched the 31st in the Afternoon, to *Templeuve*. Their next Camp was with their Right at *Pont à Tressin*, having the River *Marc* before them.

As soon as the Forces were got into the Camp, his Grace went to the Quarters of Prince *Eugene*, to confer with him; and the Army received Orders to forage beyound the *Marc*, and gather in as much as ever they could. The 2d of *September* my Lord Duke, Prince *Eugene*, M *d'Auverquerque*, and the other Generals, went to view the Country and what Ground was most convenient to post their Army on, in case the *French* should attempr to relieve *Lisle*; when it was resolved to draw out the Army in Order of Battle in the Plain of *Lisle*. The same Day the Enemy began to pass the *Scheld*, in

The Confederate Generals resolve to draw up their Army in Order of Battle.

five

five Columns, below and above *Tournay*. The 3d, they marched in 4 Columns, along the Cauſey between *Liſle* and *Tournay*; but being come to *Camphin*, they turned to their Left, and marched towards *Orchiers*. It was judged from their Motions, that they deſigned to march up to the Head of the *Marc*, to come at the Allies without being obliged to paſs any River. 1708

The ſame Day the Quarter-Maſters of the Army went to mark the Ground each Regiment was to take up, between the Mill of *Noyelle* and the Village of *Fretin*, and all the Baggage was ſent into the Entrenchments before *Liſle*. The Enemy lay that Night on their Arms near *Orchiers*, and the 4th in the Morning continued their March towards *Mons en Pevelle*. Hereupon the Confederate Army marched the ſame Day about 10 o'Clock to the Ground marked out the Day before, and were joined in the Evening by Prince *Eugene* with 26 Battalions and 76 Squadrons, which were poſted on the Right of the Line with the *Pruſſian* Troops: The *Engliſh* and *Danes* were on the Left, and the *Dutch* and *Hanoverians* in the Center. All the Cavalry was drawn up in two Lines, and the Infantry formed a third Line behind the Horſe. This Diſpoſition was thought neceſſary in a Plain; and, to cover the Flanks of the Army, 20 Battalions were poſted on each Wing, and behind them 20 Squadrons as a Body of Reſerve, to be employed where it ſhould be thought neceſſary. Count *Naſſau-Woudenburgh*, with his Brigade, was poſted in the Village of *Entiere*, which was at the Head of the Army. *Order of drawing up.*

They continued in that Poſture all the Night between the 4th and 5th, having placed their Artillery in Front, in the Places through which it was believed the Enemy might come. The Head of the *French* Army was within a League of the Allies, and they were joined by all their Field-Artillery, and 30 Pieces of heavy Cannon from *An Engagement hourly expected.*

1708 *Doway.* This made the Duke believe they would attack him the next Morning; when the two Armies were ſo near that they could hear the Beating of each other Drums. By Break of Day the Confederate Generals repaired to their reſpective Poſts, to be ready to receive the Enemy; and Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, having marched with almoſt an incredible Speed, joined them that Morning with 7 Battalions and 7 Squadrons. King *Auguſtus* and the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Ceſſel* came alſo to be Voluntiers in the Engagement. They continued till Ten o'Clock in order of Battle, when the Generals, ſeeing the *French* did not advance, ordered the Tents to be pitched again, and the Detachment of Prince *Eugene* returned to the Camp before *Liſle*, except ſome Imperial and *Heſſian* Squadrons.

Whichthe Enemy avoiding the Duke orders his Army to entrench.

The Generals concluding, that the Enemy had no other deſign, than to give frequent Alarms to retard the Siege of *Liſle* and ſtreighten them in their Forage, without venturing a Fight, an hundred Men out of each Battalion were ordered to caſt up an Entrenchment from the Mill of *Noyelle* to the Mill of *Fretin*. The Village of *Seclin* lay in the Front of this Line, and was the Place through which the Enemy might moſt conveniently make an attack. Thoſe Entrenchments, which covered the Army againſt all Surpriſe, were perfected the 7th of *September*, when the Infantry was drawn up in two Lines behind them and the Horſe in two Lines on the Wings. My Lord Duke continued in his Quarters at *Fretin*, and M. *d' Auverquerque* at *Peronne*. The Enemy were encamped between *Tumiéres* and *Merigni*, having *Mons en Pevelle* behind them, and the Head of the *Marc* before their Camp.

Vendome continuing in this Camp to alarm the Allies, he detached thence thirty Squadrons the 7th in the Morning, which marched by *Tournay*, with a Deſign to attack a Convoy coming from

Bruſſels

Bruſſels, under the Guard of a Body of Troops commanded by Lieutenant-General *Paſcal*. To prevent this, the Duke of *Marlborough* detached the ſame Evening thirty Squadrons, under the Command of the Earl of *Albermarle*, Major General *Wittinghoff*, and three Brigadiers, who were ordered to advance as far as *Grammont* to meet the Convoy. The next Day the Enemy advanced their Foragers within a Quarter of a League of *Fretin*, where the Duke had his Quarters: Where- upon two *Engliſh* Battalions were ordered to fall upon them. They marched to the Enemy, and repulſed them to *Ennevelin*, where they had poſted ſome Troops in a Caſtle ſurrounded with two Ditches. The *Engliſh* Troops endeavoured to diſlodge them from thence, and attacked them with a great deal of Bravery; but the Duke *de Vendome* cauſed all his Grenadiers, and the Piquet of ſix Brigades, which were encamped in the Front of his Army near *Pont à Marc*, to ſupport his Troops in the Caſtle. This obliged the two Battalions to retire, ſeeing they could not force that Poſt without Cannon, and without being ſupported by all the Infantry, which was not thought convenient in the preſent Juncture. They made their Retreat in very good order, and repulſed ſeveral times the Enemy, tho' they were at leaſt four to one. They had three or four Officers killed, and about 120 Soldiers killed or wounded: But it was impoſſible to expreſs how much this vigorous Action encouraged the whole Army; it being very remarkable, that two Battalion alone could repulſe ſuch a Body of Men. The 10th, the Enemy made a motion, advancing with their Right, which extended to *Berſſé*, ſomewhat near *Pont à Marc*, to ſuſtain the Poſt, and that of the Caſtle *Ennevelin*. 1708

Bravery of the Engliſh *Battalions.*

About this Time M. *Chamillard* arrived in the *French* Camp. with the laſt Inſtructions of the Moſt Chriſtian King, relating to the Siege of *Liſle*.

1708

His Grace again alarmed by the French.

A Council of War was thereupon held, and the 11th in the Morning the Duke of *Marlborough* had Advice, that the Enemies were in Motion; and about Two in the Afternoon the Head of their Army was seen, consisting of several Battalions and Squadrons, with their Workmen, who level'd the Ground between them and the Duke's Entrenchments. A few Minutes after those Troops advanced towards the Entrenchments, in very good Order, which made his Grace believe, that they designed to attack him: Whereupon 3 Guns were fired, as a Signal for every Regiment of the Army to take their Post behind the Entrenchments. About half an Hour past Three, the Enemy began to cannonade the Confederate Army with 10 or 12 Pieces of Cannon, and chiefly the Village of *Entieres*, which lay before the great Entrenchment, and which was fortified with good Works. The Duke of *Marlborough*, who had foreseen that the Enemy would attack that Post, placed therein two Brigades, one of *English* commanded by Brigadier *Evans*, and one of *Dutch* commanded by Brigadier *Wertmuller*, with sufficient Artillery for its Defence. Mean time an Officer was dispatched to Prince *Eugene*, to acquaint him with this Motion; and that Prince came with all Speed, with a great Detachment from his Army. Orders were likewise sent to the Earl of *Albermarle*, who was between *Menin* and *Oudenarde*, with 30 Squadrons, to guard a Convoy from *Brussels*, to return to the Camp with all Speed; and the 12th, by Break of Day, his Lordship arrived with his Detachment. All the necessary Dispositions were made for giving a warm Reception to the Enemy; and as it was expected they would attack the next Morning, the Army continued all the Night on their Arms, behind the Entrenchments; Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Field-Marshal *d'Auverquerque*, remaining all that time in their respective Posts.

The

The 12th, about half an Hour paſt Six in the Morning, the Enemy began again to cannonade the Duke's Entrenchments with 30 or 40 Pieces of Cannon, moſt 24 Pounders: and the Allies anſwered them from their Artillery placed on the Entrenchments with good Succeſs. His Grace believed, for ſome time, they were then in earneſt; but, at laſt, ſeeing they would not come up, the Troops were ordered to their Tents near the Entrenchments. The 13th in the Morning the Confederates expected to be entertained with the like Muſick as the Day before, having been informed that they had in the Night prepared ſome other Batteries: But they had withdrawn their heavy Cannon, tho' they continued in the ſame Poſt. Prince *Eugene* hereupon returned to the Camp before *Liſle*, with moſt of the Foot he had brought with him. As Deſerters and Spies had unanimouſly reported, that the Enemy had reſolved, in the great Council of War held in the Preſence of M. *de Chamillard* the 10th Inſtant, to attack the Duke's Entrenchments, the Soldiers of the Allies were in great Expectation of a Fight; and no Words can expreſs the Alacrity they ſhewed when they ſaw the Enemy in Motion. The Enemy continued the 14th to fortify the Village of *Seclin*, but yet did not bring any Artillery to thoſe Entrenchments, and withdrew ſome Regiments that were too much expoſed to the Cannon of the Allies, which did great Execution amongſt them.

1708

Who at laſt attempt nothing.

M. *de Chamillard* being upon his Return to the *French* Court, where he was now Prime Miniſter, and willing to make a true Report to his Maſter of the Situation of the Confederate Army, went up to the Top of a Steeple in *Seclin* with ſeveral Generals, from whence he might have eaſily diſcovered how the Allies were poſted; but a Cannon-ball from the Batteries of the latter happening to beat down ſome Part of the Wall of the Church, laid that Miniſter and the Generals went down from

M. de Chamil*frighten'd.*

the

1708 the Steeple with a great deal of Precipitation. The Duke of *Burgundy* held a Council of War that Day, wherein it was resolved, that since there was no Possibility to attack the Duke in his Camp with any Hopes of Success, their Army should decamp from thence, for some other Designs. Accordingly the 15th, before Break of Day, they marched without any Beat of Drum, their Right to *Orchiers*, and their Left to *Ribaucourt*. The Duke of *Marlborough* gave Orders to his Army, to be in readiness to march the 16th to observe the Enemy. The same Day his Grace received Advice, that a Convoy of Ammunition, for which the Cofederate Generals were in great Pain, was safely arrived from *Aeth* to *Oudenarde*. The Enemy had detached the Dragoons of *Lisle-nay* and *Risburg* to intercept it, and the Count *de la Motte* was advanced to *Grammont* upon the same Design.

The Enemy draw off.

The 16th, at Three in the Morning, the Enemies beat the General, and marched before Break of Day in four Columns, by *Mouchin* and *Bachy*, directly towards *Tournay*: Whereupon the Confederate Army made a Motion; the *English* Troops, with the *Prussians* and *Hanoverians*, taking the Right which encamped to *Fretin*, and the *Danes* and *Dutch* in the Left to *Annappe*, with the *Mars* before them all.

A Detachment of 10 Squadrons from the Army of his Grace, and the like Number from that of Prince *Eugene*, under the Command of Brigadier *Chanclos*, marched at the same time towards *Oudenarde*, with Orders to observe the Motions of the Enemy, who encamped that Evening, their Right to the Rivulet *Le Chin*, and their Left extending beyond *Froimont*. The Head Quarters were marked at *Blandain*; but the Princess went to *Tournay*. The 17th in the Morning the Enemy detached several Regiments of Horse and Foot towards *Pont d'Espierre*, and gave out that they were

to march towards *Oudenarde*. At the ſame time a Detachment from the Duke's Army marched to *Courtray*, but the main Body continued where they were, in hopes the Enemy would diſcover their Deſigns. They ſpread ſeveral Reports in their Army; talked of the Sieges of *Oudenarde* and *Aeth*; and of reinforcing the Count *de la Motte*, who was to attack *Bruſſels*, while the Army continued about *Leſſines*, to cut off the Allies Communication with that City. The Duke of *Marlborough*, not to be behind-hand, ſent Orders to Major-General *Murray* to march with ſeveral Regiments from the *Dutch Flanders* for *Bruſſels*, to cover that City; and all poſſible Meaſures were taken to prevent the Deſigns of the Enemy, whatever thoſe Deſigns might at laſt prove. 1708

They give out various Reports.

His Grace marched the 18th, at Ten in the Morning, from the Camp at *Sanghin* and *Peronne*; filing by the Left. He paſſed the *Marc* at *Pont à Treſſin* and *Foreſt*, encamped his Right to *Wilſem*, and his Left to *Pont à Vane*, which is a Rivulet that runs into the *Scheld*. The Enemy who paſſed the *Scheld* the 17th, continued the 19th in their Camp along the *Scheld*, from the *Mount of the Trinity* beyond *Pottes*. His Grace having reeeived Advice, that they had laid two Bridges on the *Scheld* near *Warcoin*, and had put ſome Troops in the Caſtle of that Name on this Side of the River, 600 Grenadiers were detached to beat them away from that Poſt, and ruin their Bridges on the *Scheld*. Some Pieces of Cannon were ordered that Way, and all the Grenadiers of the Army were commanded to meet the 19th, by Break of Day, at *Pont à Vane*, to ſupport the former Detachment; and the reſt of the Army were to be in a Readineſs for ſuſtaining thoſe Detachments. The Grenadiers repaired accordingly to their Rendezvous, where they expected Major-General *Cadogan*. who was ſent with a Detachment to obſerve the Country about the Caſtle of *Warcoin*:

A Detachment ſent to take a Poſt which the Enemy abandon.

But

1708 But he found that the Enemy had abandoned that Poſt, and withdrawn their Bridges; whereupon the Detachment returned to their reſpective Regiments, and the Cavalry were ordered to fetch their Forage from the Camp they had quitted near *Fretin*. The 20th the Army marched towards *Lanoy*, where the Generals took up their Quarters, and encamped the Right to *Hem* near the *Marc*, and the Left towards *Leers*. While they lay here, Prince *Eugene* received a ſlight Wound, which occaſioned his Grace to leave the Army a few Days, in order to viſit his Highneſs, and command the Siege during his Indiſpoſition

The Duke commands the Siege.

An Attempt to throw Ammunition into Liſle.

The Siege having laſted a long Time, and the Garriſon having ſuſtained ſeveral Aſſaults, and made all the while a prodigious Fire, they began now to want Ammunition. Marſhal *Boufflers* having ſignified this to the Duke *de Vendome*, 14 Squadrons were detached from his Army, to endeavour to throw ſome Ammunition into the Place. In order thereto, each Trooper was obliged to carry a Bag of Powder before him, which they took up at *Doway*; and having put green Boughs in their Hats, the uſual Token of the Troops of the Allies, they marched in the Night to the Camp of Prince *Eugene*. They paſſed the firſt Guard, pretending that they were a Detachment from the Army under the Duke of *Marlborough*; but being diſcovered, and the Alarm given, a *Palatine* Regiment of Dragoons engaged them, while the next Regiments of Foot ran out of their Tents and made a Fire upon them, which obliged them to retire with Precipitation, except ſome few who got into the Town. The Enemies had about 100 Men killed, and 40 taken Priſoners: But this Affair I have related more particularly in the Hiſtory of Prince *Eugene*.

While theſe Things were tranſacting before *Liſle*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who returned from the Siege the 25th to his Camp at *Lanoy*, was employed

ployed in making Detachment, and taking other Measures for securing the great Convoy of Ammunition he expected from *Ostend*. His Grace having received Advice, that the *English* Troops under Lieutenant-General *Erle*, being advanced to *Lessinghen*, on the Canal between *Bruges* and *Newport*, the Count *de la Motte* had been re-inforced with several Brigades from the *French* Army, to intercept the said Convoy; he foresaw that the 6 Battalions and 800 Horse, detached under Brigadier *Landsberg*, and 10 Squadrons more under Brigadier *Sterkenburg*, and 6 Battalions under Bragadier *Els*, would not be sufficient to oppose the Enemy; and therefore Major-General *Webb*, and Brigadier Count *Nassau-Woudenburg*, Son to M. *d'Auverquerque*, marched the 16th, by Break of Day, with 12 Battalions more, to join those Detachments on the Road between *Menin* and *Ostend*, and were ordered to advance as far as *Ichtegem*, in the Country called *Le Frenc de Bruges*, about four Leagues from *Lessenghen*. Major General *Cadogan* march'd in the mean time with a Detachment of Horse and Foot, to meet the Convoy, upon their passing the Canal of *Bruges*. Notwithstanding that it was not possible to take other Precautions for securing this Convoy than those that were taken, the Allies were in great pain for it, upon Advice that the Body of Troops the Enemy had about *Brussels* were marched by *Ninove* to *Ghent*, to join the Count *de la Motte*, and that the intercepting of the Convoy was judged so important, that the Duke of *Berwick* was gone to *Bruges*, to command the Army assembled there. 1708

Measures taken to secure the Convoy from Ostend.

The 28th his Grace received Advice from Major-General *Cadogan*, that the Day before the Enemy had attacked the Troops posted at *Oudenburg*, but were repulsed with a considerable Loss, and returned to *Bruges*: Whereupon the Convoy, the same Day, being the 27th, had passed the Canal

1708 nal at *Leffinghen*, and marched with ſo much Diligence, that they were come the next Morning to *Torout*, having received no manner of Diſturbance from the Enemy. This made People believe, that the March of the Convoy would occaſion no Action: But the 29th in the Morning, an Adjutant from Major General *Cadogan* brought Advice, that the Convoy being arrived at *Artemachen*, Major-General *Webb*, with 24 Battalions had been attacked at *Wynendale*.

Account of the Fight at Wynendale.

After the Detachments, which were ſent to cover the march of the Waggons with Amunition for the Siege of *Liſle*, had joined at *Torout* the 27th of *September*, the Generals *Webb* and *Cadogan* had Intelligence that Major *Savary*, of the Regiment of *Guethem*, had taken Poſſeſſion of the Poſt of *Oudenburg*, Whereupon Brigadier *Landsberg* was ſent thither with 600 Grenadiers under Colonel *Preſton*, a Battalion of *Orkney* under Colonel *Hamilton*, and that of *Fume* commanded by Colonel *Wooght*, to re-inforce that Poſt.

The 28th, at 8 in the Morning, the Cavalry were ſent to *Hooglede*, there to wait for the Convoy, except 150 Horſe, commanded by the Count *de Lottum*, who were ſent the Night before to *Oudenberg*, to carry Orders to the two Battalions and 600 Grenadiers to guard the Convoy as far as *Kokelaer*, and afterwards to rejoin the Infantry at *Torout*. At Noon the Count *de Lottum* returned to *Torout*, and reported that having march'd as far as *Jetegbem*, he found an Advanced-Guard of the Enemy, which he drove before him to the Heath, where he diſcovered 16 Squadrons, who mounted on Horſeback with great Precipitation on the Alarm given by the Advanced-Guard; whereupon he had judged it beſt to return, to give notice of it. Upon this Intelligence, all the Infantry, in Number 22 Battalions, were ordered to march immediately: And the Count *de Lottum*, at

the

the Head of 150 Horſe, making the Van-guard, with the Quarter-Maſters, and the reſt of the Grenadiers who had not been detached, was commanded to gain *Jeteghen* by the Road of *Wynendale*. The Van-guard arriving there, diſcovered the Enmy at the Entrance of the Heath: Whereupon the Quarter Maſters and the remaining Grenadiers were drawn up in Battalia. Major-General *Webb*, with the Count *de Naſſau-Woudenburg*, at the Head of the 150 Horſe advanced to view the Enemy. giving Orders at the ſame time to the Regiments to advance with the utmoſt Diligence upon the Plain, and form themſelves into Order of Battle. The 150 Horſe were left under the Command of the Count *de Lottum*, at the Entrance of the Heath, to amuſe the Enemy; and, the more to perplex them, the Quarter-Maſters and Grenadiers were poſted among the Buſhes bordering the Ground thro' which the Enemy were to paſs. 1708

As faſt as our Regiments came out of the Defile, they were drawn up in Battalia by General *Webb* and the Count *de Naſſau-Woudenburg*, to fill the Aperture which is between the Wood of *Wynendale*, and the Buſhes on the other Side, which make a fort of Thicket. Hardly were ſix of our Battalions come upon that Ground, when the Enemy from 19 Cannon, nine of them of a triple Bore, began to cannonade the 150 Horſe placed in a little more advanced Poſt; who, notwithſtanding the great Fire of the Enemy, ſtood firm; which produced the Effect our General expected from it, namely, the giving him Time to draw up the Infantry in Battalia, to fill the Aperture and form two Lines. The Left Wing was extended far behind the fore-mentioned Buſhes, to hinder the Enemy's paſſing there, and to cover our Flank. On the Flank of the Right, in the Wood of *Wynendale*, was placed the Regiment of *Heukelum*; and on the Flank of the Left, the Regiment

The Enemy play their Artillery while General Webb draws up his Battalions.

1708 ment of the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse*; with Order to keep themselves concealed, and not to fire till they could take the Enemy in Flank. Plattoons of Grenadiers were ordered to advance 40 Paces before the Right and Left, with the like Direction, The Quarter Master, were placed on the Left, in a Path leading thro' the fore-mentioned Bushes. The Enemy, having cannonaded us three Hours, advanced against us on the Plain in Battalia, with four Lines of Foot, and as many of Horse, whereupon the Count *Lottum* was commanded to retire, and post his Horse 300 Paces behind the Foot, which he did in very good Order. The Enemy continued their March directly upon us, in Number 40 Battalions and 48 Squadrons.

The General observing that the Enemy filed off on their Right among the Bushes, sent the Count *de Nassau-Woudenburg* to observe them; and order'd thither the Regiment of *Grumbkow*, commanded by Colonel *Beschefer*. Brigadier *Eltz* arrived on the Right, with the Regiments of the Rear guard, which he posted in the Wood of *Wynendale*. Half a Quarter of an Hour before the Fight began, the two Battalions and the 600 Grenadiers, who had been detached under Brigadier *Lansberg*, rejoined us, and formed a third Line. That Brigadier had met, by Accident, near *Kokelaer*, our Soldiers Wives all in Tears; and was thereupon advised by the Colonels *Perston*, *Hamilton*, and *Wooght*, to hasten to our Assistance.

The Battle, Presently after the Forming of our third Line, the Enemy began the Attack, and advanced within 15 Paces of the Battalion posted on the Flank of our Right, who had lain hid according to the General's Order, and did not give their Fire till the Enemies Flank was fully exposed to them; but then did such Execution, that their Left Wing fell in Disorder among their Right, which received from the Regiment of *Grumbkow*, posted on the Flank

Flank of our Left at much the ſame Diſtance, a very terrible Salute, that put them all into Diſorder. However, they returned to the Charge, and puſhed two of our Battalions: But the *Swiſs* Regiment of *Albermarle*, commanded by M. *Hirtzel*, advanced againſt their Horſe, who endeavoured to break into them; and by their vigorous Reſiſtance gave Time to the General and Count *de Naſſau-Woudenburg* to bring up the Regiments of *Berndorff* and *Lindeboom* in to the Place of thoſe who had been puſhed from their Ground; which was done very nimbly. In the mean time the Enemy, ſupported by ſo many Lines, made a ſecond Effort to penetrate; but not one of our Battalions ſtirred, unleſs to advance ſome Paces. The General hindered them from preſſing on to the Purſuit, to the End he might not loſe the Advantage of the two Flanks. His Foreſight had all the ſucceſs that could have been wiſhed; for the two Regiments and the Grenadiers there making a continual Fire, obliged the Enemy's two Wings to fall into the Center. and to retire in great Diſorder. All their Officers could do, to make them turn again, was unavailable; and they contented themſelves with making a diſtant Fire at our Lines. Our Men anſwered them by Plattoons, with the ſame exact Order as if they had been only exerciſing.

1708

In which the Allies have the Advantage.

Major General *Cadogan*, who arrived ſoon after the Fight was begun, offered to charge the Enemy in their Diſorder with two Squadrons which we had; having before ſent Orders to four Squadrons to come and join us, who could not reach us till a little before Seven o'Clock. But it was not judged adviſeable to expoſe ſo ſmall a Number to charge the Enemy, who were ſo much ſuperior, and had cauſed all their Cavalry to advance to cover their Retreat.

The Fight was very fierce, and laſted almoſt two Hours. We had 912 Officers and Soldiers killed

Loſs on both Sides.

1708 or wounded. The Enemy, according to the Report of the Priſoners confirmed, by Deſerters, loſt between 3 and 4000 Men, and retired in ſo great Confuſion, that they left their Cannon in the Woods, and did not return to fetch them off till Eleven o'Clock the next Morning, after they had learnt that our General had continued his March at Two that Morning, to conduct the Convoy by the Way of *Rouſſelaer*, firſt having cauſed all our Wounded, and many of the Enemy's, to be carried off. The Advantage we gained is the more ſurpriſing, in that we had but between 6 and 7000 Men, and the Enemy had between 23 and 24,000.

Particulars of it among the Allies.

The Liſt of the Slain and Wounded amongſt the Allies amounted, according to an exact Computation tranſmitted to the States-General; to the Numbers that follow: 3 Colonels and 2 Lieutenant-Colonels wounded; 2 Majors killed, and 1 wounded; 4 Captains killed, 18 wounded; 4 Lieutenants killed, 36 wounded; 2 Enſigns killed, 22 wounded; 15 Serjeants killed, 38 wounded; 111 private Men killed, and 680 wounded. The Loſs of the *French* was not ſo exactly known; but as they were more numerous, and that they were repulſed, it muſt be much greater than that of the Allies; and Letters from *Ghent* and *Bruges* confirmed the Report of the Deſerters, and made it near 4000 Men killed or wounded.

Miſunderſtanding between the French and Spaniards.

The Defeat of the Enemy created great Miſunderſtandings between the *French* and *Spaniards*. They had firſt of all a great Diſpute about their Rank, and the *French* pretended to the Right; but Count *Bergeyck* and the *Spaniſh* Generals declared they would never ſuffer that Indignity, and the *French* were obliged to recede from their Pretenſions. The *Spaniſh* Troops had accordingly the Right in the Engagement, and complained that they were baſely abandoned by the *French*. How-

ever

ever it was, they ſuffered very much, and loſt a great many Officers and Soldiers. 1708

The 6th of *October*, about Noon, 11 Battalion, commanded by Brigadier *Wertmuller*, and 10 Squadrons, commanded by Brigadier *Siburg*, marched from the Army to *Morſelle*, to join 12 Battalions and 10 Squadrons that were encamped there under Major-General *Webb* and Count *Naſſau-Woudenburg*. The Enemies had now conſiderably re-inforced their Troops towards *Bruges*; and the Duke *de Vendome* was gone thither to put himſelf at the Head of that Army, which conſiſted of 60 Battalions and 70 or 80 Squadrons; but then they were encamped in ſeveral Bodies, one at *Wynendale*, one at *Ghiſtel*, and others about *Oudenburg*, the better to cut off all Communication with *Oſtend*. The ſame Day, the Battalions of *Fagel*, *Dedem* and *Voogt* returned to the Camp at *Ronc* from *Morſelle*, being thoſe that ſuffered moſt in the late Defeat of Count *de la Motte*. That Evening, Orders were given to the Army to decamp in the Night, with particular Directions, that it ſhould march by the Left, and paſs the *Lys* at *Menin*; and that the Troops of different Nations ſhould march an Hour one after another, to prevent any Confuſion, without Beat of Drum or Sound of Trumpets. Accordingly they encamped the 7th at *Rouſſelaer*, having left in the Camp of *Ronc* 20 Squadrons, under Major-General *le Lec* and Brigadier *Hoenderbeen*, and 20 Battalions under Major-General *Hoendorff* and Brigadier *Rank*, with Directions to obey the Orders of Prince *Eugene*, and March into the Line of Circumvallation: They left alſo four Squadrons at *Menin*, to wait there for the empty Waggons, and conduct them to the Army, in order to be ſent to *Oſtend*, to bring another Convoy of Ammunition and Proviſions. The Baggage was left likewiſe at *Menin*.

Motions for ſecuring another Convoy.

Upon their Arrival at the Camp of *Rouſſelaer*, Advice came that the Duke *de Vendome* was ſtill encamped

1708 encamped at *Oudenburg* with the Number of Troops above-mentioned: Whereupon the Duke of *Marlborough* resolved to lose no Time, but to march in the Night, in hopes to engage the Enemy, or oblige them to quit that Post, which was necessary for the passing of a fresh Convoy. The Field-Deputies of the States, King *Augustus*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, all set out from the Camp before *Lisle*, in hopes of an Action; which was the rather believed, because the Duke *de Vendome* had written to the *French* King, that he engaged his Honour that the Allies should have no further Communication with *Ostend*. The same Night the Quarter-Masters of the Army set out from *Rousselaer*, under a Guard of 8 Battalions, to secure such Posts as they should think convenient for facilitating the general March; and the 8th, about Break of Day, the whole Army, consisting of 130 Squadrons and 60 Battalions, including the said eight, marched by the Left, and advanced to the Heath of *Wynendale*, where they halted for some time, till his Grace had a Confirmation of the Advices he had received in the Morning, that M. *de Vendome* had decamped before Break of Day with all imaginable Precipitation from *Oudenburg*, and passed the Canal of *Bruges* near that City. This being confirmed, my Lord Duke did not think fit to march any further, but encamped with his left to *Ichtegem* and *Kokelaer*, and his Right near *Torout*. Part of the Cavalry of the Right marched back to *Rousselaer*, and the Van-guard advanced near *Oudenburg*, of which it took Possession. The Enemies broke down the Dykes, and drowned in such a manner the Country about *Ostend*, that there was a world of Trouble for the Waggons to pass. The 9th, the Army returned to *Rousselaer*, where it encamped in the same manner as it did two Days before: but all the Infantry of the second Line, commanded by Count *Lottum*, General of the

Another fruitless Alarm from the French.

the *Pruſſians*, returned to *Morſelle*. The Duke *de Vendome* continued between *Bruges* and *Plaſſendael* behind the Canal. 1708

That General, in order to prevent the Arrival of any freſh Convoys before *Liſle*, ordered the Country on the other Side of the Canal of *New-port* to be drowned, in ſuch a manner, that it was not poſſible for Carriages to paſs. To remedy this Inconvenience, the Allies took up as many little Boats at *Oſtend* as they could find, to carry the Ammunition from *Leffinghen* (whither it was brought by Waggons and Troopers) over the drowned Country, to ſuch Places about *Kokelaer*, where the Waggons from the Army waited to carry it to the Camp. A Detachment of the Enemy advanced to attack *Leffinghen*; but the Cannon, from a Fort erected there, obliged them to retire. They raiſed a Battery on the other Side of the Canal, to batter that Fort; and made uſe of it alſo to fire upon the Boats which carried the Ammunition over the drowned Country, but did no manner of Damage. This, for the preſent, was a great Mortification to the Enemy, who had, by the Inundation of ſo great a Tract of Land, opened to the Allies a new and ſafe Way for maintaining the Communication with the Grand Army, as long as the Waters were high enough for their Boats, and they were Maſters of *Leffinghen*. This determined M. *de Vendome* to leave no Means untried for becoming Maſter of that important Poſt; and General *Erle*, being informed of the Marſhal's Deſign, re-inforced the Troops poſted there, and took all poſſible Precautions to hinder the Approach of 6 Haſſ-Gallies from *Newport*, on which the Enemy had embarked ſome Land Forces. That General alſo removed his Camp nearer *Fort Albert*, and poſted Part of his Troops on the Downs, that the Enemy might not ſend any Horſe at Low-water, to attack his

The French *drown the Country, which proves of Service to the Allies.*

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The Duke *de Vendome*, at the Head of 18,000 Men and the 6 Half Gallies, advanced in the Night between the 15th and 16th Instant, in order to attack *Leffinghen*, as a regular Place. He was in hopes to take that Post Sword in Hand, and for that Purpose sent for 4000 Grenadiers from the main Army. He designed at the same time to attack the Camp of General *Erle*, to give him a Diversion, and hinder him from supporting the Troops posted at *Leffinghen*. But the General, being informed of the Enemy's Designs, caused the several Posts he had on the *Downs*, between his Camp and *Newport*, to be entrenched, and put a sufficient Number of Troops therein; whereby he prevented the Design of the Marshal, who intended to send a Body of Horse and Foot at Low-water to attack him in the Flank, while the other Troops were to attack him in Front. They advanced the 18th in good Order; but seeing the Confederate

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It was not till the 25th in the Morning, after a regular Siege of nine Days ſince the Opening of the Trenches, that the Village of *Leffinghen*, defended only by a ſmall earthen Fort that was erected in two or three Days, was obliged to ſurrender to the Enemy. The *French* had ſix Batteries of Cannon and Mortars, and ſeveral Gallies and armed Boats, and the Duke *de Vendome*, with an Admiral, did not think it below them to command that Siege in Perſon, in which, perhaps, they had miſcarried, had the Orders given by General *Erle*, for the Defence of that Poſt, been exactly complied with. The *Engliſh* Troops, and the Regiment of *Vanderbeck*, being exceedingly fatigued, it was thought fit to relieve them as abovementioned; and General *Erle* detached accordingly 675 Men from his Camp, and Colonel *Caris*. Commander of *Oſtend*, detached 100 Men from the Regiment of *Davila*, and 120 of his *The taking of* Leffinghen.

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1708 own. Theſe Troops relieved the former, notwithſtanding the great Fire the Enemy made upon them. The General, being informed that the Enemy deſigned to attack that Poſt the 25th, reinforced the Troops that were in it with 150 Men; and Colonel *Caris* ſent likewiſe another Detachment of 109 Men out of his Garriſon. The Enemy landed in the Night, by means of their Ships, 7 or 8000 Men in a dry Place behind the Village, which it was impoſſible to drown; and about Six in the Morning they attacked a Churchyard, wherein Colonel *Caulfield*, who commanded in *Leffinghen*, had poſted a Guard of 150 Men. Theſe Men made but little Reſiſtance, and retired in Confuſion into the Redoubt near the Canal which they ſurrendered, and were made Priſoners of War. The Enemies loſt in the Siege of *Leffinghen*, 5 or 600 Men.

Bravery of ſome Officers.

Some Officers of the Allies diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular Manner; and amongſt others, Colonel *Rapin* before-mentioned, of *Dormer*'s Regiment, and Major *Douglaſs* of Brigadier *Liveſay*'s. The latter was commanded the 21ſt, with 100 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Grenadiers, to re-inforce the Troops at *Leffinghen*; and having taken Poſt in a Garden, on the other Side of the Canal, with 50 Grenadiers, he made ſuch a Fire upon the Enemy, that they could not carry on their Approaches, and killed and wounded above 100 Men that Night. He maintained himſelf therein the 22d and 23d, when he was relieved. The Enemies left a ſtrong Detachment in *Leffinghen*; and the Navigation of the Canal being now free, they ſent a great many Barks, with Proviſions, from *Newport* to *Bruges*, where they were very much wanted.

The Loſs of this Poſt muſt have been of bad Conſequence to the Allies, if Marſhal *Boufflers* had not been before obliged to Capitulate for the City of *Liſle*, which was evacuated the ſame Day

that

that the Poſt of *Leſſinghen* was taken. From that Time the Siege of the Citadel was carried on with Succeſs. The Duke of *Marlborough* ſent a great Detachment to *Dixmuyde*, from whence they made Excurſions into the Bailiwicks of *Furnes*, *Bergens*, *St. Vinox*, and other Diſtricts on that Side, and obliged the Inhabitants to bring Corn and all other Proviſions to the Camp. The Earl of *Stair* commanded that Detachment, and ſurpriſed a Guard of 4 Companies of *French* Grenadiers, at a Bridge between *Dixmuyde* and *Newport*, who were all taken Priſoners. 1708

The Earl of Stair raiſes Contributions.

The Prince of *Holſtein-Beck* was made Governor of *Liſle*; but, being indiſpoſed, he was obliged to go to *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The Duke of *Burgundy* continued at *Tournay*, where he held a great Council of War, wherein M. *Chamillard*, M. *de Chanlay*, and ſeveral Intendants were preſent. The chief Point in Debate was, whether they ſhould abandon *Ghent* and *Bruges*, which they could not maintain without vaſt Charges. The Opinions were divided, and M. *Chamillard* went back to the *French* Court, to lay the Affair before the Moſt Chriſtian King, and receive his further Inſtructions. Moſt of the Generals were of Opinion to abandon thoſe two Places; but the Count *de Bergeick*, and other *Spaniſh* Miniſters and Generals, oppoſed it; and pretended that ſuch a Precedent would diſcourage all the Subjects of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy.

The French debate whether they ſhall abandon Ghent and Bruges.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, having had notice that the Elector of *Bavaria* was moving towards *Bruſſels*, recalled the Troops that were in the Diſtrict of *Furnes*, under General *Fagel*, who joined the Army at *Rouſſelaer* the 22d of *November*, and brought two Hoſtages with him, for the Performance of an Agreement made with the Dependencies of *Furnes*, whereby they were to deliver 6000 Sacks of Corn into the Magazines of *Menin*. Mean time the Enemies detached ſome Troops

His Grace marches to preſerve Bruſſels.

1708 from the Bodies they had near *Oudenarde* and *Ghent* and the Dam which they were making near *Gavre'* to ſtop the Courſe of the *Scheld*, in order to render the Paſſage more difficult, was broke and carried away by the Rapidity of the Stream. This was welcome News to the Allies; for had the Enemy ſucceeded in their Deſign, the Paſſing the *Scheld* would have been attended with great Difficulties. The Approach of the Elector of *Bavaria* in the Neighbourhood of *Bruſſels* being confirmed, the Artillery and Baggage were ſent from *Rouſſelaer*, to *Menin*, and the Army decamped the 25th, paſſed the *Lys* at *Courtray*, and the Infantry arrived at *Harlebeck* the ſame Day; but, by reaſon of the difficult Roads, the Cavalry could not reach the Camp till the 26th. The Army continued there till Four in the Afternoon, as well on account of the violent Rains, as for giving Time to Prince *Eugene* to come to the Place appointed, with the Troops from *Liſle*. That Prince, with 50 Squadrons and 19 Battalions, was to paſs the River between *Eſcaneffe* and *Hauterive*; the Duke of *Marlborough* and Count *Tilly*, with a 100 Squadrons and 50 Battalions, at *Kerkhoven*, not far from *Hauterive*; and Count *Lottum*, with the Earl of *Orkney*, who led a ſeperate Detachment, between *Gavre* and *Aſpereu*. Major-General *Cadogan* and Brigadier *Evans* were ſent before the Duke's Diviſion, with 8 Battalions, the Pontrons, a nd the light Artillery, to lay Bridges at *Kerkhoven* and *Elſegen*, where h, is Grace was to paſs.

Paſſes the Scheld.

The Army marched all Night; and ſome time before Day his Grace received Advice, that Major-General *Cadogan* had not only cauſed the Bridges to be laid in the Places appointed, but had likewiſe taken Poſt on the other Side of the River, and put to flight a Body of Troops of the Enemy, that were near that Place. Hereupon the Troops were ordered to march with all poſſible Diligence; and, as they paſſed the River, they

they formed themſelves into Order of Battle. Prince *Eugene*, who arrived much about the ſame time at *Hauterive*, receiving Advice, that Major-General *Cadogan* had taken Poſt on the other Side of the *Scheld*, did not think fit to loſe Time in laying Bridges there; but, according to what had been concerted before, that whatever Body paſſed firſt, the other ſhould march to that Place, his Highneſs marched immediately to *Kerkhoven*, and joined his Grace. 1708

From thence they advanced to *Berchem*, to attack the *French* under M. *de Souternon*; but they ran away with ſo much Precipitation, that the Allies could not take above 5 or 600, and killed about 200. The Cavalry of the States, which was at the Head of the Army, purſued the Enemies to certain Defiles, where they had poſted, for ſecuring their Retreat, ſome Infantry behind the Hedges, from whence they made a great Fire upon the *Dutch* Troops; and it was on that Occaſion, that Brigadier *Baldwyn* was ſhot thro' the Body, and that the Earl of *Albemarle* and Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau* had their Horſes wounded. *The* French *fly before him,*

His Grace of *Marlborough*, and Prince *Eugene*, marched then to attack the *French* Troops entrenched on the Hills of *Oudenarde*, under the Command of M. *de Hautefort*; but the Enemies, hearing this Firing, abandoned that Poſt with ſo much Precipitation, that they could overtake but their Rear, which was put into the utmoſt Confuſion, and purſued till it came to be dark. They loſt a great deal of Baggage, with their Bread-Waggons, two Standards, and a Pair of Kettle-Drums. The Army encamped the ſame Night on the Hills of *Oudenarde*; but Part of the Troops, which Prince *Eugene* brought with him. returned to *Liſle*. Count *Lottum*, with his Detachment, paſſed with the ſame Succeſs as the reſt of the Army. *La Motte*, it muſt be owned, who commanded the *French* Troops about *Gavre*, put a

1708 better Face on it than the other Generals; for he drew up his Troops in Line of Battle: But Count *Lottum*, according to his Orders, marched to join the Duke of *Marlborough* about *Oudenarde*, and encamped the 27th at *Eyname*.

The 28th, Prince *Eugene*, with the reſt of his Troops, and a Detachment of 8 Battalions and 30 Squadrons from the Grand Army, returned to *Liſle*, and the 16 Battalions under Count *Lottum* returned into the Camp. The ſame Morning Lieutenant General *Dompre*, with 40 Squadrons, marched towards *Aloſt*, being ordered to encamp between that Place and *Aſche*, in order to relieve *Bruſſels*. My Lord Duke marched likewiſe to *Ombergh*, and took his Quarters in a Caſtle near *Aloſt*, where he received Advice, that the Elector of *Bavaria* was retired the Night before in great Precipitation from before *Bruſſels*. The next Day his Grace went to *Bruſſels*, where he was receiv-ed with great Acclamations of Joy, and compli-mented by the States of *Brabant*, and the Magi-ſtrates of the City, upon their Deliverance. That Prince returned the ſame Night to his Camp near *Alöſt*, where the Troops reſted the 30th.

The Elector of Bavaria *quits the Siege of* Bruſſels.

The Army marched the firſt of *December*, and encamped the Left near *Berlinghen*, and the Right near *Oudenarde*. Lieutenant-General *Dedem* paſ-ſed the *Scheld* with 20 Battalions, to be ready to join Lieutenant General *Hompeſch*, who, with 38 Squadrons, and 8 Battalions was poſted near *Me-nin*, to re-inforce, in caſe of Need, the Prince of *Savoy* before *Liſle*. My Lord Duke being in-formed, that the Garriſon of *Aeth* had ſurpriſed *St. Guillain*, a Place between *Mons*, and *Condé*, and that the Enemies had ſent ſome Troops to retake that Poſt, he ordered Lieutenant-General *Dompre* with a ſtrong Detachment to relieve it: But that General hearing by the way, that the Troops therein had ſurrender'd, he halted at *Attre*, and was ordered to bring from *Aeth* a great Convoy of Ammu-

Ammunition designed for *Lisle*. The passing of the *Scheld* put the Enemies into the utmost Consternation, and they retired thereupon towards *Valenciennes*. This Passage without Opposition, and the Raising of the Siege of this City were Indeed such Events, that few People durst hope for. No Succours ever came more seasonably: For the Enemies, who had invested *Brussels* the 22d of *November*, began to batter it the 26th with their Cannon and Mortars, and in the Night between the 26th and 27th attacked the Covered-way, and got near into it; but were as often repulsed with a most terrible Slaughter. The Attack lasted 14 Hours, during which the Soldiers on both Sides, laying their Muskets aside, fought Sword in Hand. The Action ceased the 27th, at Ten in the Morning; but the Allies expected to be attacked a second time, about Nine o'Clock at Night. The Elector of *Bavaria*, however, having received two Expresses from *Mons*, retired in the Night, leaving most of his Artillery behind him, and 800 Men wounded in *Etterbeck*, *Ixelles*, and *Cameren*. During this Siege the Enemy fired burning Bullets into several Parts of the City, in hopes thereby to excite a Mutiny among the People. 1708

Account of the Siege of Brussels.

The Citadel of *Lisle*, having surrendered, the Grand Army marched the 11th from *Berleghen* to *Melle*. His Grace caused Bridges to be laid over the *Scheld*, for the Communication of the several Bodies, which, according to a Risolution before taken, had invested *Ghent*. The necessary Measures were soon concerted for carrying on the Siege, and chiefly as to the Forage, for the Subsistence of the Horses: in Consequence of which it was ordered, that each Squadron should receive 180 Rations a Day, and each Battalion 100.

The Siege of Ghent resolved on.

While they expected the Artillery and other Necessaries for the Siege, Prince *Eugene* passed the *Scheld* at *Eyname*, and came to the Camp, where a great Council of War was held, at which a General

1708 neral of each Nation, whereof the Army was compoſed, aſſiſted. This Council was ſoon over; and, according to the Reſolutions taken therein, the Duke of *Marlborough* was to command the Seige, and Prince *Hugene* to cover it. In order thereto, the Imperialiſts and *Palatines*, with 20 other Squadrons, were ordered to paſs the *Dender*, and encamp at *Gemareche*. Count *de Lottum*, with 30 Battalions and 30 Squadrons, was appointed to inveſt it between the *Upper Sheld* and the *Lys*; and the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, with 30 Battalions and 40 Squadrons, was to do the like between the *Lys* and the Canal of *Bruges*, and from thence to the Canal of the *Sas*; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with 16 Battalions and 25 Squadrons, between *Mulenſtein* and the *Lower Sheld*; and the Count *de Tilly*, with 30 Battalions and 30 Squadrons, between the *Lower* and the *Upper Scheld*. My Lord Duke pitched his Head Quarters at *Merlebeck*, which lies almoſt in the Center of the ſeveral Attacks. Mean time the Secretary of the City of *Ghent* came to the Camp, to deſire a paſs for the Magiſtrates to wait upon his Grace, in order to intreat him to ſpare their City, and not bombard it: But notwithſtanding a Paſs was granted, and an Audience given, their Requeſt was rejected, unleſs they would take up Arms againſt the *French* Garriſon; which conſiſted of 27 Battalions and 20 Squadrons, the Enemy had alſo 12 Battalions and 8 or 10 Squadrons in *Bruges*, and the reſt of their Forces were diſperſed behind their Lines, or cantoned in the Villages.

Account of it, The Confederate Troops having taken the neceſſary Poſts about *Ghent*, and laid Bridges of Communication, the Enemies made a Show of defending the Bridge of *Menleſlede* on the Canal; but quitted it upon the approach of the Beſiegers. The taking of that Poſt facilitated the Communication with the Troops poſted between that

Canal

Canal and that of *Bruges*. On the 20th, in the Evening, they took Poſt near the Caſtle, and attacked a Guard of 30Men commanded by aLieutenant, which the Enemy had without the Gate of *Gavre*. All the Men were put to the Sword, except the Officer who was taken Priſoner. The Trenches were opened the 24th, at the attack commanded by General *Lottum*, between the *Scheld* and the *Lys*. Two thouſand Workmen covered by 7 Battalions, and 2 more in Reſerve, with 600 Horſe, were ordered for that Service, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, Major-General *Weck*, and the Lord *North and Grey*, Brigadier. The Pioneers worked about half an Hour before the Enemy diſcovered them; but then they made a moſt terrible Fire, whereby near 30 Men were killed, and about 70wounded. They nevertheleſs carried on their works with good Succeſs, from *St. Peter's Gate* towards Fort *Montery*, and finiſhed a Parallel of a 1000 paces, from the Right to the Left, within 200 paces of the Counterſcarp. The 25th, at Night, the Trenches were opened at the Duke of *Wirtenberg*'s Attack, with 4 Battalions, and 600 Horſe, commanded by Major-General *Murray*, which covered 1400 Pioneers. This Attack was directed againſt the Caſtle. They finiſhed a Parallel of 750 Paces, within 150 paces of the Paliſades, and had in that Attack but 10 Men killed and wounded. The ſame Night, and much about the ſame Time, they opened the Trenches before the *Bruſſels-Gate*, between the *Upper* and *Lower Scheld*, with 4 Battalions, commanded by Brigadier *Evans*. Here were 600 Workmen, who carried on their Works with a great deal of Succeſs, and made a Communication without any Loſs: But the Works on the Right being very difficult, and Time as well as Faſcines being wanting to finiſh them, the Garriſon made a Salley with 10 Companies of Grenadiers. They put the firſt Troops into ſome Confuſion; and

1708

while

1708 while Brigadier *Evans* was bringing the next Battalions to ſupport the former, he was taken Priſoner, with Colonel *Grove*, of the Lord *North and Grey*'s Regiment. About 20 Officers and Soldiers were here killed or taken: But the Enemy rerired upon the firſt Firing of the Confederate Troops, and had not Time to level any Works. The Brigadier, and all the Officers, except ſuch as were wounded, came back immediately to the Camp upon their Parole. On the 26th, their Batteries began to fire upon the *Red-Fort*, between *Ghent* and the *Sas*; and the Garriſon there, conſiſting of 200 Men, ſurrendered Priſoners of War.

The Governor capitulates.

All the Approaches being carried on with a great deal of Succeſs, and the Batteries being ready to fire, the 30, with red-hot Bullets, and the Mortars to throw Bombs and Carcaſſes into the Town, Count *La Motte* ſent out a Trumpet on the 29th, with a Letter to his Grace, to deſire him that ſome Officers might come to attend him. This being granted, the Prince of *Iſenghien*. Brigadier *Cano*, and M. *d' Aubigny*, a Colonel, came to his Grace's Quarters, and offered to ſurrender the Town and Caſtle in four Days, if they were not relieved, upon Condition that they ſhould march out with all the Marks of Honour. My Lord Duke agreed to theſe Conditions, and ſent back the Officers, with Orders to return the next Day at Six o'Clock in the Morning with a poſitive Anſwer; and, in the mean time, the Batteries were forbid to fire. They returned accordingly, with a numerous Deputation from the Clergy, Magiſtrates, and Burghers; and the Articles of Capitulation were agreed upon, and Hoſtages given for the Execution of them. The Capitulation of the Magiſtrates was for their own Privileges; the chief Purport of which was, to preſerve the Exerciſe of their Religion, the Revenues and Immunities of all Religious Houſes, Perſons, and Foundations, as well as all the Privileges which the City enjoyed

in

in the Reign of *Charles* the II. It was alſo provided, that the preſent Officers of the Government ſhould be removed, or ſtill enjoy their Places, as ſhould be thought moſt for the Service of King *Charles* III. But that all hereditary Employments, and hereditary Rights to Employments, ſhould continue in the ſame Perſons who held them in the former Reign; and that all Engagements relating to Publick Credit ſhould be inviolably obſerved. 1708

On the 2d of *January* the Garriſon of *Ghent* marched out with 6 Pieces of Cannon, and the uſual Marks of Honour. Next Morning the Duke of *Marlborough*, after having viewed the Approaches, went into the City, and was received at the Gate of *St. Liven*, by the Magiſtrates in their Formalities, who preſented him with the Keys of the Town in a gilt Baſon. He was conducted through a Line of Burghers to the Town-Houſe, where there was a magnificent Entertainment, and the Evening concluded with extraordinary Illuminations. The *French* quitted *Bruges* on *New-Year's-Day*, and the Magiſtrates came the Day after to make their Submiſſion. Prince *Eugene* went the next Morning for *Bruſſels* where the Duke of *Marlborough* repaired to him the 4th, in order to proceed with him to the *Hague*. *The Duke enters* Ghent.

Upon the Surrender of *Ghent*, the Enemies quitted not only *Bruges*, but *Plaſſendael* and *Leſſinghen*, and retired into their own Territories: And the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, having ſettled the Winter-Quarters for the Confederate Troops, ſet out from *Bruſſels* the 9th of *January* for the *Hague*, having left all the Army under the Command of the Count *de Tilly*, General of the *Dutch* Forces. *Goes to the* Hague.

Having concerted with the States the Projects for the next Campaign, and the moſt proper Meaſures for preſerving the Countries conquered in the *Netherlands*; it was judged neceſſary, that *The Duke ſtays in the* Netherlands.

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1708 one of these two great Men should continue in those Provinces Part of the Winter, to be ready to assemble all the Confederate Troops in case of Need, to oppose the Enterprises of the Enemy. My Lord Duke having offered to remain there till the Return of Prince *Eugene*, who set out the 20th of *January* for *Vienna*, to lay the concerted Measures before the Emperor, his Grace departed the 25th for *Brussels*, to watch the Motions of the Enemy, who seemed to have some Enterprises in View during the hard Frost: But his Presence obliged them to remain quiet. While he was here, the Commons of *Great-Britain*, impatient of delaying their Thanks, unanimously resolved,

Where he receives Thanks of the English *Commons.*

" That being truly sensible not only of the great
" Services performed by the Duke, the last suc-
" cessful Campaign, so much to the Honour of
" *Great-Britain*, and Advantage of all *Europe*,
" but also of the indefatigable Zeal he persever-
" ed in, for the Service of the Common Cause
" abroad, while he might with Reason expect
" to be received with all the Marks of Honour
" and Satisfaction at home, they did, with a just
" Regard to his glorious Actions, return him the
" Thanks of their House." This Resolution was accordingly sent him by Sir *Richard Onslow*, the Speaker; to which his Grace returned a very obliging Answer from *Brussels*.

Soon after, having settled Affairs in that City, his Grace went again to the *Hague*; and having agreed with the States for an Augmentation of Forces, both by the Queen and their High Mightinesses, and taken another Tour to *Brussels*, he came over to *England* in *March*. When he arrived, and took his Place in the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor *Cowper* address'd him thus:

My Lord Duke of Marlborough, 1708

" I Have the Honour to be again commanded *The Lord*
" by this Houſe, to give your Grace their *Chancellors*
" moſt hearty and unanimous Thanks for the *Speech to*
" great and eminent Services you have per- *him after*
" formed this laſt Campaign, particularly to her *his Arrival*
" Majeſty and her Kingdoms, and in general to *in* England
" all the Allies.

" When I laſt obeyed the like Commands, I
" could not but infer from your Grace's former
" Succeſſes, we had ſtill moſt reaſonable Expec-
" tation, that you could not fail to improve
" them,

" I beg Leave to congratulate your Grace,
" that the Obſervation then made has proved, as
" indeed it was intended, perfectly true.

" I hope I ſhall not be thought to exceed my
" preſent Commiſſion, if being thus led to con-
" template the mighty things your Grace has
" done for us, I cannot conclude without acknow-
" ledging, with all Gratitude, the Providence of
" God in ſo critical a Juncture, when it was ſo
" much wanted."

THE HISTORY OF *JOHN* Duke of *Marlborough.*

BOOK VI.

Containing the Tranſactions of the Campaign in the Year 1709, *and the ſubſequent Negotiations of Peace.*

1709 *Recapitulation of the Year* 1708.

THE *French* having, in the Year 1707, gained great Advantages in *Spain*, and in particular won the Battle of *Almanza*; having penetrated once more into *Germany*, and ſtopped the Progreſs of the Allies in the *Netherlands*, reſolved, in the Year 1708, to make an utmoſt Effort for retrieving their Loſſes and the Honour of their Arms: But the Forces of *Great-Britain*

Britain being an invincible Obſtacle to their Deſigns, they reſolved upon an Enterpriſe (the Expedition of the King of *St. Germains* into *Scotland*) which, if it had ſucceeded, would have proved a great Diverſion to the *Britiſh* Forces. The *French* King, if we may believe his own Words, in his Letter to the Pope, had always had that Deſign in View, but never found any favourable Conjuncture before to put it in Execution: But now he thought himſelf ſo ſure of Succeſs, that he notified to all the neutral Courts in *Europe* and even to the *Turks*, the Departure of the Pretender, and his Expedition into *Scotland*, as if they were ſure it could not miſcarry. The Miniſters of *France* ſpoke ſtill more poſitively than their Maſter they communicated ſham Liſts of the Lords and Gentlemen who had invited over that Prince, and ſpoke of a Revolution in *Britain*, rather as of a Thing already accompliſhed, than of an Event which they expected. 1709

The Pretender's Expedition.

From all this it appears very plain, that either they had Encouragement to venture upon ſo great an Enterpriſe with a handful of Men; or that they deſigned, by that Expedition, to kindle a Civil War in *Britain*, to oblige the Queen to recall moſt of her Forces from the *Netherlands*, and keep at home her Fleet under Sir *John Leake*, deſigned for the Support of King *Charles* in the *Streights*; which would have opened a Way for the *French* to have recover'd the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, to inſult the Frontiers of the *Dutch*, and diſpoſe them to a ſeperate Peace, while the Elector of *Bavaria* was to penetrate into *Germany*, and the Duke of *Orleanes* to invade *Catalonia*, where K. *Charles* was reduced to ſuch Streights, that *Barcelona* itſelf had been in danger, if the Confederate Fleet had been hindered from bringing any Succours to that Prince. This was the Project of the Enemy in the Beginning of the Campaign, the Reaſon why the Duke of *Burgundy* was ſent to command in the

Motives of it.

Netherlands,

1709 *Netherlands*, and the Grounds of their great Expectations upon that Account.

Succeſs. I have related all the neceſſary Meaſures that were taken for preventing theſe Deſigns; how a Fleet was fitted out with almoſt an incredible Expedition, without detaining that which was deſigned for the *Streights*; which prevented the Landing of the Enemies in *Scotland*, and took one of their beſt Ships: So that the Pretender, having contented himſelf to take a View of the Coaſt of *Scotland*, returned to *Dunkirk*; and the *French*, inſtead of the great Advantages they expected from that Expedition, loſt ſome thouſands of Men, who periſhed on board the Ships wherein they were crowded, and juſtly forfeited the Credit they ſtill had in ſome Courts of *Europe*. The Diverſion they gave to the *Britiſh* Forces was very inconſiderable, only 10 Battalions having been brought over from the *Netherlands*, which were ſpeedily ſent back with further Re-inforcements, Thus vaniſhed into Smoke that vaunted Expedition, which drew the Eyes of all the World upon *Great-Britain*.

The Campaign in Spain. This was the great Preliminary of that Campaign, of which the particular Events, beſides thoſe related in the preceeding Book, were as follow: The Duke of *Orleans*, having aſſembled his Forces near *Lerida*, formed the Siege of *Tortoza*, (notwithſtanding the Diſappointment he met with by the Taking of a great Number of *Tartanes*, which fell in with the Fleet commanded by Sir *John Leake*) and that Place was ſoon reduced: But Count *Stahremberg*, being re-inforced by ſome Troops from *Italy*, covered the reſt of *Catalonia*, while the Prince of *Darmſtadt* defended it on the Side of *Rouſſillon*; inſomuch that, after a long Campaign, the Duke of *Orleans* was obliged to repaſs the *Segra*, not being able to take up his Winter Quarters in *Catalonia*, nor to hinder King *Charles* from making Detachments to aſſiſt the Confederate

Confederate Fleet in the Reduction of *Sardinia* and *Minorca*, which was effected with a Succeſs that exceeded Expectation. The Town and Caſtle of *Denia*, which made the Year before a noble Defence, were obliged to ſurrender to the Enemy; and the Allies quitted the Town of *Alicant*, and retired into the Caſtle. 1709

The Campaign began late in *Piedmont*, by reaſon of the bad Weather; but in a very ſhort Time the Duke of *Savoy*, who the Year before had failed in his Attempt on *Toulon*, conquered *Exilles* and *Feneſtrelles*, two Keys of *Italy*; which it would have been impoſſible to take, if that Prince had not made the *French* believe he intended to march into *Savoy*. This obliged them to ſend their Forces that Way, and afforded his Royal Highneſs an Opportunity to make a ſudden Counter-march, and ſecure ſuch Poſts as were abſolutely neceſſary for covering the Sieges of *Exilles* and *Feneſtrelles*. *In* Piedmont.

For the better Underſtanding of the Tranſactions on the *Rhine*, it is neceſſary to remind the Reader, that Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, being arrived at the *Hague*, ſet out for *Hanover*, to take Meaſures with the Elector of that Name, for putting the projected Deſigns in Execution. It was reſolved, that moſt of the Imperial Troops, with the *Saxons* and *Heſſians* in the Pay of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, and the Body the Elector *Palatine* was to furniſh in Conſideration of the Ceſſion of the *Upper Palatinate*, ſhould march for the *Netherlands* under Prince *Eugene*, to act in concert with the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Forces, commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*. According to this Diſpoſition, the Army of the Empire on the *Rhine* was very inconſiderable: But the Elector reſigning, in favour of the Common Cauſe the Laurels which he might juſtly have promiſed himſelf, repaired to the *Rhine* with very indifferent Troops, ill paid and ill provided: Yet he not *On the* Rhine.

only

1709 only disappointed the Design the Elector of *Bavaria* had formed to penetrate into *Germany*, but hindered him from making any Detachments to re-inforce the Duke of *Burgundy* in the *Netherlands*. What was done in this latter Country, the main Scene of Action, has been fully related in the History of that Year, as given in this Work, and in *The Life of Prince Eugene*. The Campaign in *Portugal* produced nothing that deserves to be remember'd, except that the *Spaniards* abandoned *Serpa* and *Moura*.

Transactions at Sea.

As to Sea Affairs this Year: Sir *George Bing*, having prevented the Designs of the Enemy upon *Scotland*, returned with his Fleet to *Spithead*, where taking on board a Body of Land Forces, commanded by General *Erle*, he proceeded to the *French* Coast; and after making a Feint to land in the Bay of *Boulogne*, sailed to the Bay of *Eſtaples*, where General *Erle* landed: But upon the Arrival of an Expreſs from *England*, with an Account of the Alteration of ſome Meaſures that had been concerted in *Flanders*, the Troops returned on board, and the Fleet proceeded to the Coaſt of *Normandy*; where continuing about 14 Days, it put that Country into an unſpeakable Conſternation, and drew a great Number of Soldiers to *La Hague* The Fleet, having nothing elſe to do, returned to *Spithead*; and ſhortly after Sir *George Bing*, having on board the Queen of *Portugal*, ſailed for *Liſbon*, to command the *Britiſh* Fleet in the *Streights*.

The ſame Year Commodore *Wager*, with three Men of War and a Fireſhip, engaged in the *Weſt Indies* the *Spaniſh* Galleons, and other Ships conſiſting of 14 Sail; blew up the Admiral, took the Rear-Admiral, and obliged the Vice-Admiral, with the reſt, to return into *Carthagena*, except one Galleon which was ſtranded. This proved a great Diſappointment to the Enemy; for, beſides the Money taken or loſt, the Galleons were un-

loaded

loaded at *Carthagena*, and M. *du Caſſe*, after having tarry'd near a Year for them at the *Havanna*, was obliged to return home with the Flotilla from *Vera Cruz*. 1709

Beſides theſe Diſaſters abroad, the Finances of *France* were in the utmoſt Diſorder; their chief Bankers broke, and the Magiſtrates of *Lyons* were obliged to put off, for a Month, the Payment of their Bills of Exchange. The Mint Bills and Farmers Notes had loſt all their Credit; eſpecially ſince a Project they had formed of a Bank, for circulating and paying them off, had miſcarried. Theſe Difficulties, and the Diſcouragement of their Troops, obliged the Court to think ſeriouſly of Peace, as the only Means to prevent the total Ruin of *France*. Accordingly, they made ſome Overtures to the Allies, which were not altogether unreaſonable; and the Preſident *de Rouillé* obtained Leave to come for *Holland*, in order to ſettle the Preliminaries of a Treaty. That Gentleman being arrived at *Antwerp*, the States-General appointed Meſſieurs *Buys* and *Vander-Duſſen*, the former Penſioner of *Amſterdam*, and the latter of *Gouda*, to have a Conference with him at *Moerdyke*; upon the Report of which, he was permitted to go to *Woerden*, a Place between *Leyden* and *Utrecht*, to be near at hand for the Conferences. There the Deputies of the States had another Conference with him, wherein he offered the Preliminaries of a general Peace.

Preſident de Rouillé comes to Holland to treat of Peace.

Offers Preliminaries.

Theſe Preliminaries were, "That the Duke of "*Anjou* ſhould renounce all his Pretenſions to the "*Spaniſh* Monarchy, and all the Dominions "thereof, except *Naples* and *Sicily*, which he "ſhould keep to himſelf: That, in Regard to the "Empire, the Treaty of *Ryſwick* ſhould be re-"ſtored: That for a further Security to the "States, ſome Frontier Places in the *Netherlands* "ſhould be yielded to them, the better to "ſtrengthen their Barrier: And laſtly, that the

"Duke

1709 " Duke of *Savoy* ſhould be reſtored to the Dutchy " of that Name, to *Nizza*, and to *Villa Franca*: " and the Electors of *Cologn* and *Bavaria* to their " Eſtates and Dignities." The Deputies of the States told M. *de Rouillé*, that they were appointed to hear what he had to ſay, but not to propoſe any thing, and promiſed to report the Conferences to the States, and deliver him an Anſwer with all convenient Speed: They urged him to deliver theſe Propoſals in Writing; but he declared, that he had no Orders to do it.

The Duke and Prince Eugene *at the* Hague.

Prince *Eugene*, who had full Power of the Emperor for all Things relating to War and Peace, arrived at *Bruſſels* the 27th of *March*, and the 8th of *April* came to the *Hague*, where the Duke of *Marlborough* arrived the next Day. Thoſe Princes had a long Conference with the Penſionary and other Deputies of the States, wherein they debated the Propoſals made on the Part of *France*, which were not judged large enough to be the Ground of a Treaty of Peace. According to this Reſolution, the Deputies of the States returned an Anſwer to M. *Rouillé*, importing, " That his " Overtures were not ſatisfactory," without entering into any Particulars. That Miniſter ſent a Gentleman to *Verſailles* for new Inſtructions, who was diſpatched back the 15th of *April*, and arrived in *Holland* the 18th. The ſame Day the Penſionary of *Holland*, with ſeven other Deputies of the States, had a Conference with the Duke of *Marlborough*: After which the Duke ſet out again for *England*, in order to take the Sentiments of the Miniſtry there, and to get ſome other Plenipotentiary aſſociated with him in the future Negotiations, that all the Burthen, both of Peace and War, might not lie upon him alone. Mean time the Troops of the Allies were ordered to prepare themſelves to take the Field, and all ſuch Captains of the States as had not their Companies compleat by the 20th of *April*, were to be caſhiered. Their

His Grace returns to England.

High-

High Mightineſſes ordered all their Dragoons, and 84 Battalions of their Infantry, to be in Readineſs to march at an Hour's Warning. The Troops of the Allies this Year, in the *Netherlands* only, were to amount to 160,000 effective Man: And the Duke of *Marlborough* was reported to have ſaid, That the Peace was to be treated of in *France* by 150,000 Plenipotentiaries. 1709

The Scarcity of Proviſions, all this while, was ſo univerſal in *France*, that the whole Kingdom cried out for Bread and Peace. The Dauphin, going to the Opera, ſaw his Coach ſurrounded by a Multitude of Men, Women, and Children, repreſenting their Miſery, and ſhewing him a kind of coarſe Bread made of ſeveral Sorts of Corn: At which that Prince was ſo moved, that he could ſcarce refrain from Tears; and cauſed all the Money he had about him, and what he could borrow from his Retinue, to be diſtributed amongſt them. Tho' the Government took all imaginable Care for preventing Inſurrections, the Populace plundered ſeveral Markets at *Paris*, under the Noſe of the Magiſtrates, and abuſed the Guards. Two of the chief Leaders were taken up, and ſentenced to Death; but their Companions boldly declaring to the Lieutenant-General of the *Police*, that they would revenge their Death upon him, he did not think fit to proceed to an Execution, and the King granted them a Pardon. The Diſorders were ſtill greater in the Provinces remote from the Court: The Country People leaving their Habitations, formed ſeveral Bodies too great to be diſperſed, and lived altogether upon Plunder. Theſe Calamities, and the great Preparations of the Allies to invade *France*, obliged the Moſt Chriſtian King to redouble his Efforts to obtain Peace: For which Purpoſe he ſent to the *Hague* the Marquis *de Torcy*, Miniſter and Secretary of State, to confirm what M. *Rouillé* had offered in his Name, and to make further Propoſals. *A Famine in* France.

1709 M. *de Torcy*, being arrived at the *Hague*, went to visit the Pensionary, who told him that he could not confer with him, without Leave of the States. Their High Mightinesses thereupon thought fit, that the said Pensionary, and Messieurs *Buys* and *Vanderdussen*, who had hitherto managed the Conferences with M. *Rouillé*, should meet the Marquis *de Torcy*, and hear what he had to propose. That Minister accordingly offered Proposals; but the Deputies of the States told him, that they could not return him any Answer, till they knew the Sentiments of the Queen of *Great-Britain* by the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was hourly expected. Mean time Prince *Eugene*, being informed of the Arrival of that *French* Minister, repaired immediately to the *Hague*, and, in his Conferences with the Pensionary, had the Satisfaction to receive new Assurances, that the States would, upon no private Considerations whatever, depart from the general Interest of the Grand Alliance.

M. de Torcy *goes to the* Hague.

The Duke returns to the Hague.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, after having weathered a Storm, landed at the *Brill* the 17th of *May*, accompanied by the Lord *Townsend*. He arrived the 18th at the *Hague*, and immediately sent his Secretary to notify his Arrival to the President of the States and the Grand Pensionary. The same Day the Marquis *de Torcy* came to his Grace, and was about two Hours with him, and the Lord *Townsend*, who came over in the Character of Embassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of *Great-Britain*. The 19th M. *de Torcy* was at the Levee of his Grace; and on the 20th, Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Lord *Townsend*, returned the Visit. The same Morning a Conference was held, in which the *French* Ministers declared, "That their Master

Proposals on the Part of France.

"consented to the Demolishing of *Dunkirk*, to
"abandon the Pretender of *St. Germains*, and
"other Articles insisted on by *Great Britain*; and
"likewise to renounce all Pretensions to the
"*Spanish*

" *Spaniſh* Monarchy: And laſtly, that he would 1709
" quit ſuch Places as ſhould be thought neceſſary
" for the Barrier demanded by the States, as
" *Furnes*, *Ypres*, *Menin*, *Tournay*, *Liſle*, *Condé*,
" *Maubeuge*, *&c.* In regard to the Empire, they
" offered to reſtore all Things as they were ſettled
" by the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, and to demoliſh the
" Fortifications of *Straſburg*." The Allies inſiſted on ſome other Articles, particularly the Reſtitution of *Upper* and *Lower Alſatia* to the Empire. Whereupon the *French* Miniſters declared, " That
" they had no Power to make any farther Con-
" ceſſions;" broke up the Conference, and went to the Penſionary to deſire Paſſes to return home. They ſent again for them in the Morning, declaring they could ſtay no longer: But upon ſecond Thoughts, and the Repreſentations of a neutral Miniſter, they conſented to have another Conference.

M. *de Torcy* went alone the 21ſt to the Grand Penſionary's, to agree about that Conference, which was held at Six o'Clock in the Evening; and notwithſtanding the *French* Miniſters had affirmed the Day before, that they could not enlarge their Offers, they propoſe to ſurrender *Straſburg* in the ſame Condition as it was at preſent. The Allies were not contented with theſe further Propoſals, and another Conference was appointed for the 22d in the Morning, which proved likewiſe unſucceſsful. The *French* declared, that they were reſolved to go away; and the better to perſuade People that they were in earneſt, they took their Leave of Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Miniſters of the neutral Princes: But ſome of the latter perſuaded them to put off their Departure, which they readily conſented to; and another Conference was held the 23d, which laſted from Nine o'Clock till half an Hour paſt One in the Afternoon. They began to ſet down in Writing ſome Articles, and it was agreed to meet again

Several Unſucceſsful Conferences.

1709 about Six in the Evening; before which M. *de Torcy* promiſed to write to his Maſter about the Difference relating to *Alſatia*. They debated in the Evening an important Article, relating to the Security of the Execution of the Points agreed upon: But this Conference broke up without any Succeſs, tho' it laſted till Eleven o'Clock. The Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, and the Lord *Townſend*, did not continue there ſo long, but left it to the Deputies of the States to debate theſe Articles. There was another Conference the 24th, which begun at Nine o'Clock. between the Deputies of the States and the *French* Miniſters; and as ſoon as it was over, the former went to give an Account of it to the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*; who, having ſome important Affairs to ſettle, could not be preſent. The ſame Day in the Evening there was another, which laſted very long. They reſumed therein the Debate relating to the Security of the Execution of the Articles agreed upon, and chiefly as to the Evacuation of all the *Spaniſh* Dominions. The Allies demanded ſeveral Towns for this Security, and the *French* refuſed to give any; inſiſting, That the Engagement the Moſt Chriſtian King entered into, to recall his Troops from *Spain*, and his Promiſe to give no manner of Aſſiſtance to King *Philip*, was alone ſufficient; and that King *Philip*, being thus forſaken by his Grandfather, would be obliged to quit *Spain*, eſpecially becauſe the *Spaniards* would then certainly declare for King *Charles*. This occaſioned warm Debates; but at laſt it was agreed, that *France* ſhould deliver ſome Places in the *Netherlands*, that were to be Part of the Barrier, before they entered upon the general Negotiations of Peace, by way of Preliminary.

Debate concerning the Security for K. Philip's Abdication.

The two following Days, his Grace, Prince *Eugene*, the Lord *Townſend*, and Count *Zinzendorf*, had ſeveral Conferences with the Grand Penſionary

sionary and the Deputies of the States; wherein they gave a full Account, to the new Imperial Plenipotentiary, of what had been transacted since the Overture of these Negotiations; and they agreed upon the further Demands that were to be made to the *French* Ministers. In Pursuance of this, there was a Conference held the 27th at Ten o'Clock, wherein Count *Zinzendorf* assisted for the first time. Messieurs *de Torcy* and *Rouillé* desired some Time to consider their Demands, and promised to return an Answer at Six in the Evening, when a Conference was accordingly held at the Grand Pensionary's, which continued till Two in the Morning. After many Disputes, all the Preliminaries, consisting of 40 Articles, were agreed upon. They appointed another Conference between Nine and Ten, when they re-examined again the said Articles, which were set down in Writing, and signed by the Ministers of the Allies, but not by those of *France*. Both Sides took Copies of them, and M. *de Torcy* set out at Four in the Afternoon for *Versailles*, to communicate them to his Most Christian Majesty, and engaged to procure the Ratifications of them within ten Days. 1709

Preliminaries agreed on.

On the 5th of *June*, the President *de Rouillé* received an Express from *France*; and some time after he had a Conference at the Grand Pensionary's with the Imperial and *British* Plenipotentiaries, and the Deputies of the States; wherein he acquainted them, that the Most Christian King could not ratify some Articles agreed to in the Conferences lately held with M. *de Torcy*. He offered several Reasons, which had been alledged in former Conferences, and endeavoured to persuade them, that those Terms were so hard, that it was not to be expected that his Master should comply therewith. The Ministers of the Allies had immediately a Conference amongst themselves, in which it was agreed to signify to M. *de Rouillé* to depart in 24 Hours: But the 6th in the Morn-

The French *King refuses to sign them.*

1709 ing he made a Visit to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and proposed another Conference, which was held the same Evening. Nothing material however was transacted in it, except that the Allies declared to M. *Rouillé*, that they would not recede from any one of the Articles agreed to; and that if his Master did not think fit to comply therewith, the Allies would not think themselves bound by the said Articles, or restrain their Pretensions to the Contents of them after the 15th Instant, the Time allowed by the said Articles. The *French* Minister pretended, that he had no Orders to make any further Declaration, and received a second Intimation to depart. He desired, however, one more Conference; but that produced no more than the former. The *French* King excepted in particular against five Articles; which, as the whole Affair came to nothing, we think it needless to recite.

The Grand Pensionary having made a Report, to the Assembly of the States, of the Declaration made by the President *Rouillé*, their High Mightinesses took a Resolution worthy of their Firmness and Wisdom; importing, "That as the Pre-
" liminaries aforesaid were the only Conditions
" on which they thought a sure Peace could be
" grounded, they did not think fit to recede in
" the least from any one of them." And the President *de Rouillé*, being pressed to own if he had any secret Orders tending to Peace, declared, That if the Allies would content themselves with the Calling of the *French* Troops out of *Spain*, without insisting on the Delivering up of the *Spanish* Monarchy, he thought his Majesty would be induced to depart from the other Exceptions. But the Recovery of the *Spanish* Monarchy from the *French* being at that time, in the Opinion of all the Allies, the only Means to restore the Ballance of *Europe*, the Ministers of the Allies did not think fit to depart from any one of the Articles they

The Conferences broke off.

they had agreed upon; and ſo M. *de Rouillé* took his Leave and ſet out for *Rotterdam*; from whence he embarked on board a Yacht for *Moerdyke*, to return home. 1709

The ſame Day, being the 10th of *June*, all the Miniſters of the Allies were deſired to meet in a Congreſs, wherein the Grand Penſionary gave them a full Account of all the Steps that had been made in the Negotiations; eſpecially ſince the *French* King had refuſed to agree to the Preliminaries; and the Preſident of the Seacret Affairs ſpoke on the Subject with a great deal of Warmth, deſiring their Excellencies to give an Account to their reſpective Maſters of theſe unfair Proceedings of *France*, and exhort them to redouble their Efforts againſt an Enemy, who could never be brought to Reaſon but by Force. Couut *Zinzendorf* took this Opportunity to tell the Deputies of the States, that the Empire, the Emperor, and King *Charles* III. would doubtleſs expreſs their Satisfaction for the great Firmneſs their High Mightineſſes had manifeſted in the Courſe of their Negotiations. The Duke of *Marlborough* gave the ſame Aſſurances on the Part of the Queen of *Great Britain*; as did alſo the reſt of the Miniſters on the Part of their reſpective Maſters; and all ſignified to the Grand-Penſionary, how much the Allies were obliged to him, and ſatisfied with the Prudence and Wiſdom he had expreſſed in the Negotiations; which, contrary to the Expectation of the Enemy, proved a new Cement to the Grand Alliance.

Account of theſe Negotiations given to the Miniſters of the Allies.

In a Word, the Miniſters of the Allies, and the chief Members of the United State, were full of Reſentment againſt *Lewis* XIV, and the People in general were ſo thoroughly convinced of the Inſincerity and ill Deſigns of *France* in treating, that all their Thoughts and Deſires, which had before inclined towards a Peace, were on a ſudden turned towards proſecuting the War with the utmoſt Vigour, as the only Way to get happily out

1709

Marlborough *and* Eugene *set out for the Army, The Army takes the Field.*

of it. The Duke of *Marlborough*, as ſoon as the Conferences were over, ſet out from the *Hague* for *Antwerp*, and from thence to *Bruſſels*, where he joined Prince *Eugene*. Theſe two Princes loſt no Time to aſſemble the Confederate Troops, and arrived at *Liſle* the 28th of *June*.

The Forces, being aſſembled about *Courtray* and *Menin*, marched the 22d towards *Liſle*. The 23d, the Right Wing, under Prince *Eugene*, paſſed the *Lower Deule*; and at the ſame time the Left, under the Duke of *Marlborough*, paſſed the *Marc*, and the Army encamped in the Plain of *Liſle*, on both Sides the *Upper Deule*. Orders were ſent to the Field-Artillery at *Menin* to come to *Liſle*, and an Expreſs was diſpatched to Lieutenant-General *Dompre*, who was left with a Flying Camp near *Aloſt*, to join the Army with all Speed. The 24th the Quarter-Maſter General went out with 1200 Horſe, to view the Ground between the Confederate Army and the Enemies, and the Situation of their Camp, and obſerved that they were ſtrongly poſted, and perfecting their Entrenchments with all poſſible Application. Their Left and Right were covered by Moraſſes, and their Front by ſome Villages which they had fortified. The 25th, Lieutenant General *Dopft* went out with another Detachment, to take a narrow View of the Enemy; and upon his Report, and that of Major-General *Cadogan*, there was a Council of War held, to take proper Meaſures for attacking them: But the Generals at laſt did not think fit to go upon that Enterpriſe, conſidering the advantageous Situation of their Camp, and reſolved, without more Loſs of Time, to beſieged *Tournay*.

This Reſolution was kept very private, and the next Night, when the Army decamped from the Banks of the *Deule*, without Beat of Drum or Sound of Trumpet, the Baggage being ſent away to *Liſle*, every one thought they were marching to attack the Enemy, and were ſurpriſed, when on a

ſudden

ſudden they turned to the Left, and arrived before *Tournay*, which was a few Hours after inveſted; inſomuch that the Enemy could have no Notice of the Deſign, nor any Time to put any Re-inforcements into the Place. The Garriſon conſiſted of 12 reduced Battalions, and 5 Regiments of Dragoons. The Duke of *Marlborough* made the ſame Night two Detachments, one to ſurpriſe *St. Amana*, a Place on the *Scarpe*; and another to ſurpriſe *Mortagne*, a Poſt where the *Scarpe* falls into the *Scheld*. The Enemies, who had 700 Men in *St. Amand*, retired upon the Approach of the Confederate Troops to *Valenciennes*, inſomuch tha the Detachment took Poſt therein without any Oppoſition. *Mortagne* meet with the ſame Fate and the Prince of *Naſſau* left a Detachment in each of thoſe Places. 1709 *Tournay invested.*

The heavy Artillery, which had been ſent back from *Menin* to *Ghent*, was ordered to join the Army with all poſſible Speed, and the Generals made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for the Siege. When the Troops deſign to carry it on, being 30 Battalions and 30 Squadrons on each Side the *Scheld*, took Poſt near the Town, the Governor, obſerving their Motions, burned the Suburbs. At the ſame time, the ſeveral Attempts the Enemies made to throw Re-inforcements into the Town, was a ſufficient Confirmation to the Allies, that he wanted Men. Pioneers were ſummoned out of the neighbouring Countries, who being for the moſt Part arrived, and other Preparations in a Readineſs, the Trenches were opened the 7th of *July* at Night with good Succeſs, and almoſt without any Loſs in the three Attacks reſolved upon. They were commanded by three Generals of the Infantry; Count *Lottum*, General of the *Pruſſians*, againſt the Citadel; General *Schulemburg*, of the *Saxons*, againſt the Town on the Side of *Menin*; and General *Fagel* on the Side of the River, towards *Aeth*. The Approaches were that Night *The Trenches opened.*

1709 carried on in the two former Attacks about 300 Paces; but the latter proved more difficult, and they could not advance above 200.

Marſhal *Villars*, who commanded the *French* Army this Year, continued encamped near *Lens*, whence he made a Detatchment to retake *Warneton* and *Commines* on the *Lys*, and the *Rea-Fort*. Of which the Duke of *Marlborough* having Advice, his Grace ſent a Detachment, under the Command of a *Heſſian* Lieutenant-General, to relieve thoſe Warneton Poſts. But *Warneton* being almoſt without De-

taken by the Enemy. fence, a Detachment of 700 Men that were therein, ſurrendered Priſoners of War. The other two Poſts, being in a better Poſture of Defence, held out till the Arrival of the Succours, when the Enemy retired with Precipitation.

The Marquis *de Surville*, Lieutenant-General, who was wounded in the Siege of *Liſle*, commanded in *Tournay*, and M. *Megrigni*, who, as firſt Engineer, had the Direction of the Fortifica-

Strength of Tournay. tions of the Citadel, was the Governor of it. The chief Strength of the Fortifications conſiſted in the great Number of Mines made under them: So that notwithſtanding 160 Pieces of Artillery, of which above a 100 were 24 Pounders, and 60 Mortars, that were employed on the Beſiegers Batteries, there was found great Occaſion for Sapping; for which Service Miners were ſent from *Liſle*, and others from *Maſtricht*, and with them M. *du Mey* the Engineer, who was Director of one of the Attacks againſt the Town of *Liſle*. In the mean time a Detachment of *French* Troops from the *Rhine* joined the Marſhal *de Villars*: And that General, who continued in his former Camp, detached 15 or 16000 Men to take Poſt between *Doway* and *Marchienne* on the *Scarpe*, to cover the Pioneers, who were towork on a Line from *Doway* to *Condé*.

Progreſs of the Siege. The Seige of *Tournay* went on apace, and the Enemies having caſt up a ſecond Entrenchment

the

the better to cover their Sluces and the Wall of the Town Count *Lottum* caused it to be attacked the 15th at Night. A Lieutenant, with 20 Men, leaped into the Trench, with the Enemies abandoned and retired, except two Soldiers, who took that opportunity to desert. The Victors, who had no Men killed, cast up immediately a Line of 190 Paces, paralled to that which they had taken, and made a Lodgment thereon. Twenty-two Pieces of Cannon and four Mortars were mounted in the Night in the Battery, which began the 16th to batter the Wall between the Town and the Citadel. The same Day they took another Entrenchment, without any Opposition, and began to raise another Battery against the Wall, which was the only Defence of the Town on that Side. They likewise made a Lodgment the 15th, at *Schulemberg*'s Attack, on the Saliant Angle of the Horn-work, and carried on the Trenches along the Flank; making on the Right a Lodgment on the Saliant Angle of the Ravelin. At the Attack of General *Fagel*, after having battered with a great deal of Fury the Ravelin between the Gate of *Marvis* and the *Upper Scheld*, and made a Breach sufficient to be mounted, they lodged themselves, by means of the Sap, on both Sides of the Saliant Angle of that Work. In the Night between the 20 and 21st they endeavoured, at *Lottum*'s Attack, to make themselves Masters of the Work before the Gate of *Valenciennes*; but the Besieged made a Sally to prevent it, and at first put the Workmen into Disorder, but were soon repulsed. The Besiegers had an Engineer killed, and two others wounded, with about 100 Soldiers and Workmen killed and wounded, Next Night they advanced their Sapping 26 Paces towards the Gate, having not been able to advance further, because of three Sallies the Besieged made one after another. In the mean time they made themselves Masters of the whole Counterscarp, 1709

1709 Counterſcarp, at the Attack of General *Fagel*, and fired into the Covered-way of the Enemies on the other Side of the *Scheld*, before the Attack of Count *Lottum*, with great Succeſs. The Attack of General *Schulemberg* was likewiſe very much advanced.

The Beſieged all along believing that the Attack of General *Schulemburg* was a falſe one, to favour the Succeſs of the other two, made no Preparations on that Side, which they might eaſily have done, till the Town ſeemed to be in danger of being taken by that very Attack. Then Marſhal *Villars* made a Motion with his Army, and encamped his Left near *Doway*, and his Right along the Cauſey of *Valenciennes*. He enlarged the Fortifications of the latter Place, and caſt up a Bank before the Gate of *Condé*, to make an Inundation, and hinder any Approach on that Side. He made the ſame Preparations for the Defence of *Condé*; and left a Flying-Camp near *Lens*, for the Security of his Entrenchments; ſent his heavy Baggage to *Doway*, and gave out that he would relieve *Tournay*. But notwithſtanding his Motions, the Confederate Generals did not think fit to change their Camp, but contented themſelves to re-inforce the Garriſon of *St Amand*, and to poſt a Brigade of Foot at *St Maur*, a Village near that Town.

Motions of M. de Villars.

On the 27th General *Schulemburg* cauſed the Ravelin and Half Moon at his Attack to be ſtormed; and, notwithſtanding the vigorous Reſiſtance of the Enemy, and their prodigious Fire, his Men lodged themſelves thereon, and perfected their Lodgment, by Favour of the continual Fire they made from their Cannon and Mortars. The 28th in the Morning the Firing abated, and the Enemies made a Sally to retake the Works they had loſt the Night before. They attacked very briſkly, but were repulſed with great Loſs. In the Evening, the Enemies. obſerving great Preparations for a Storm, and fearing to be taken Sword in Hand, hoiſted

hoisted their Colours, and desired to capitulate for the Town; which was granted, upon the Proviso, that the Duke of *Marlborough* would consent to it. An Aid-de-Camp was accordingly dispatched to his Highness at *Willemeaux*, which was at some Miles Distance from the Camp of the Besiegers; and his Grace having conferred with Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the States, it was agreed to capitulate: Whereupon Hostages were exchanged, and the Articles proposed by the Garrison were sent to the Princes for their Approbation. It was pretty late the 29th before the Capitulation was settled, because they demanded several Terms which the Duke of *Marlborough* did not think fit to grant them. 1709

The Garrison desired to capitulate.

The Articles contained in Substance, "That the "*Roman Catholick* Religion, with the Bishop and "Clergy, should be preserved in all their Privileges: "That the *Lisle Gate* should be delivered up the "30th in the Morning, and the Garrison to retire into the Citadel the 31st The Sick and "Wounded, which were in a Condition to be removed, to go to *Valenciennes* or *Doway* at their "own Charge, six Days after the Signing of the "Capitulation." There were several Articles for the Payment of Debts; for the Inhabitants or Officers withdrawing themselves, Families, and Effects, and for regulating other particular Points. The Besieged had Leave to send an Officer to Marshal *Villars*, to give him an Account of Matters, who was to be sent the 30th, and return into the Citadel the 1st of *August*. On the Part of the Allies it was demanded, "That Hostages should be left "for the Payment of the *French* King's Debts; "that the Keys of the Magazines should be delivered up, and the Mines faithfully discovered; "and, that the Inhabitants of *Tournay* might have "Leave to withdraw their Effects out of *France*."

Articles of Capitulation.

The Articles relating to the Inhabitants of *Tournay*

in

1709 in particular were left to the Management of the Deputies of the States.

On the 6th of *Auguſt*, the States General received Letters from their Field Deputies, with the unexpected News of a Propoſal made by the *French* for ſurrendering the Citadel of *Tournay*.

An Agreement for ſurrendering the Citadel which the French King will not ſign.

The Marquis *de Surville* propoſed to the Generals to appoint a Perſon to treat with another appointed by him; in conſequence of which the Sieur *de Lalo*, Brigadier in the *Britiſh* Troops, and the Marquis *de Ravignan*, drew up and ſubſcribed an Agreement; by which, among other Things ſtipulated, the Citadel of *Tournay* was to be evacuated and ſurrendered to the Allies on the 5th of *September* at Noon, in caſe the King's Army did not oblige the 30 Battalions and 10 Squadrons, (amounting to about 18,000 Men) who were employed in the Siege, to raiſe it. But theſe Articles being ſent to the *French* Court for Approbation, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would not ratify them, but upon Condition that there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms in general in the *Netherlands*, till the ſaid 5th Day of *September*; which the Allies having rejected, the Siege was carried on with all poſſible Vigour. The Grand Army encamped near *Orchies*, in order to cover it; and the *French* continued on the other Side the *Scarpe*, entrenching themſelves up to their Noſes.

Siege of the Citadel.

Never was Siege carried on thro' more Difficulties, than that of the Citadel of *Tournay*. The whole Place was undermined, and every Foot the Beſiegers advanced, they were in danger of being blown up into the Air. Scarce a Day paſſed, but many of them were deſtroyed in this Manner; and nothing but the obſtinate Bravery of the ever-victorious Confederate Army, commanded by Generals who found no Taſk inſuperable, joined to the Streights to which the *French* Garriſon was reduced, could have made the former Maſters of that Place in ſo ſhort a Time as a Month. To

relate

relate all the Particulars of this Seige, would be only to inform the Reader, that the Allies loſt a World of Men; almoſt every Article of the Journal being an Account of Mines ſprung, and a Liſt of Officers and Soldiers that were loſt. I ſhall but juſt take notice, therefore, that on the 29th of *Auguſt*, M. *du Mey*, the Chief Director of the Attacks, was mortally wounded under Ground; and that the Allies made ſuch a terrible Fire upon the Citadel, that Day and the next, and threw in ſuch an Aboundance of Bombs, that the next Morning, at Six o'Clock, the Enemy beat a Parly, deſiring to capitulate, and Hoſtages were thereupon exchanged on both Side. M. *Dolet* and the Marquis *de Ravignan*, both Major-General, and four other Officers came out of the Citadel; and Major-General *Hondorff*, with 5 Officers more, on the Side of the Beſiegers, were ſent in. *Dolet* and his Company were brought to the Earl of *Albemarle*'s Houſe, where the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* were met to receive their Propoſals. They offered to ſurrender the Place, and delivered a Project of a Capitulation, conſiſting of 11 Articles, the chief of which were, That the Chapel ſhould not be made uſe of for the Exerciſe of any other Religion but the Roman Catholick, upon any Pretext whatſoever: That they ſhould have 12 Pieces af Canon and 6 Mortars, with Ammunition for 20 Charges, and Horſes, Waggons, and other Neceſſaries for that Purpoſe, to be furniſhed by the Beſiegers: That the Garriſon ſhould march out, Drums beating and Colours flying, with the other uſual Marks of Honour: That they ſhould have 4 covered-Waggons: That the Priſoners ſhould be returned on each Side, and no Deſerters ſtop'd. The *French* Hoſtages, having made theſe Offers, were deſired to withdraw; and after ſome Conſultation they were called in again, and received for Anſwer from the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, that they

1709

The Garriſon offer Propoſals, which are rejected.

1709 they could allow no other Conditions, but that the Garriſon ſhould ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War. Whereupon they returned into the Citadel, and about Three o'Clock in the Afternoon the Hoſtilities began again. It was thought fit to inſiſt on having the Garriſon Priſoners of War, as well for the Honour of the Arms of the Allies, as in Return for the *French* King's having refuſed to agree to the former Capitulation: Beſides that, during the Ceſſation, the *French* Officers had own'd that they were obliged to ſurrender for want of Proviſions.

On the 2d of *September*, about Nine, the Earl of *Albemarle* came to the Camp at *Orchies*, to give the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Prince of *Savoy* an Account, that M. *de Surville* had deſired Leave to ſpeak to his Lordſhip; and that he having been accordingly in Conference with him, he had received Propoſals for the Surrender of the Citadel, and deſired their Highneſſes Orders thereupon. With theſe he returned about Ten; and the next Morning about Break of Day, ſent Word back, that the Garriſon was at laſt willing to ſurrender upon ſuch Terms as ſhould be allow'd them: Whereupon their Highneſſes immediately came to *Tournay*, and ſigned the Articles of Surrender with the Marquis *de Surville*; by which all the Officers and Soldiers were to retain only their Swords and Baggage, and leaving their Colours and Arms behind, were permitted to return to *France*, upon Condition that they ſhould not ſerve until they were actually exchanged againſt the like Number of Officers and Soldiers of the Allies; and thoſe taken at *Warneton* were to be immedietely ſent back as part of this Exchange.

They ſurrender Priſoners of War.

The Garriſon having ſurrender'd, according to the ſtipulated Conditions, and a Gate having been delivered up the 3d in the Afternoon, the Armies of the Allies decamped the ſame Night from *Orchies*,

Orchies, paſſed the *Scheld*, joined in their March, and encamped the 4th at *Brifoul*. The Heredi- tary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, who was detached the 3d in the Morning with 4000 Foot and 60 Squa- drons, in order to open a Way for inveſting of *Mons*, encamped at ſome Diſtance from the Grand Army. The 5th he paſſed the *Haine* in the After- noon, and the Grand Army encamped at *Sizaut*. 1709

The Prince of Heſſe detached towards Mons.

The next Morning his Serene Highneſs, having made the Diſpoſitions for attacking the Lines of the Enemy above, from the *Haine* to the *Sambre*, he found them abandoned by 3 Regiments of Dragoons, who had been poſted there. The Ene- my deſigned, it ſeems, to defend thoſe Lines; for the Chevalier *de Luxembourg*, with a great De- tachment, arrived ſoon after, to ſuſtain the Dra- goons, and was followed by M. *de Villars* in Per- ſon: But ſeeing that their Troops had quitted the Poſt, they marched back to *Quievrain*, where they were hourly re-inforced by Troops which arrived from their Lines along the *Scarpe*. The Prince, having taken Poſſeſſion of the *French* Lines, en- camped his Right to *Jemappe*, and his Left to *Tramiers*, whereby *Mons* was cloſely blocked up. The Army under the Duke of *Marlborough* lay with its Right to *Fontoburg*, and the Left to *Hion*; his Highneſs having his Quarters at *Havre* on the *Haine*, a Caſtle belonging to the Duke of that Name.

The 7th his Grace received Advice about Noon, that the *French* were marching to attack the Body under the Prince of *Heſſe*: whereupon Orders were given to the Army to decamp from *Havre*, and leave their Baggage behind, and their Tents ſtanding. They halted on the Hills of *Belian*, where the Prince of *Heſſe* had his Quarters; and there the Generals received Advice, that the Ene- mies had not paſſed the Defiles of *Waſme*, but were encamped between *Quievrain* and thoſe De- files. This made the Army continue in that Camp

The Duke of Marlborough marches to support him.

the

1709 the following Night, but all the Time in Order of Battle. The Duke of *Marlborough* being informed, that the Garriſon of *Mons* conſiſted only of 9 weak *Spaniſh* and 2 *Bavarian* Battalions, beſides the Dragoons of *Paſteur*, conjectured, that the chief Deſign of the Enemy in theſe Motions was to oblige him to draw all his Forces into the Plain between *Belian* and *Frameries*, that they might have an Opportunity to throw ſome Re-inforcements into *Mons*. To prevent this, his Grace ſent ſome Troops towards *St. Guillain*.

The 8th the Army marched and encamped, the Left Wing on the Side of the *Haine*, with *St. Guillain* before them, and likewiſe the Enemies Army, which was encamped at *Boſſu*. That Afternoon the Huſſars met a Party of the Enemy at the Wood or Village of *Sars*, conſiſting of 400 Men; and, by the Help of the Prince of *Heſſe*'s Advanced-Guard, this Army was defeated; and a Lieutenant-Colonel, with ſome other Officers, 30 Soldiers, 30 Deſerters, and about 100 Horſes, were brought in. On the Left Wing, Major-General *Groveſtein* met another Party in the Opening by that Wood, which was defeated, and 50 Men made Priſoners. That Day Advice came, that M. *de Boufflers* was arrived in the Enemies Army, with Order from the King to offer the Confederates Battle.

Parties of the Enemy defeated.

The Confederate Generals view the Enemy.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, and M. *Goſlinga*, Field-Deputy, reſolved, on the 9th, to go and view the Enemies Army, taking with them for their Guard the Prince *d'Auvergne*, with ſeveral Squadrons. When they came over againſt *Blaugies* and *Lamberchies*, they diſcovered the Enemies whole Army, who were in Motion, and poſting themſelves on the Plain of *Blaugies*, with their Horſe between the two Woods. Their Infantry they poſted in the Woods, on the Right and Left. The Generals having obſerved this, immediately gave Orders for drawing up their Army facing the Enemy,

Enemy, the Right Wing extending to *Sars*, and the Left to *Bleron*, where they placed their Cannon, which was played with good Execution. The Duke of *Marlborough*, with Prince *Eugene* and the Prince-Royal of *Prussia*, passed that Night with M. *Goslinga*, that they might be ready if the Enemy should make any Attempt. In the mean while, they had Advice, that the Enemy entrenched themselves, and were felling the Wood, to clear as much of it as was necessary for their own Motions, and to throw up before them in the Manner of *Chevaux de Frise*. 1709

The 10th it appeared, that the Enemy were running an Entrenchment cross the Plain from one Wood to the other, and making use of all the Advantage of the Ground: Whereupon it was resolved, between Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, and M. *Goslinga*, to attack them. At that time arrived M. *Hooft*, Field-Deputy, from *Tournay*; as did the next Morning M. *Rantwijck*, another Field-Deputy. The Presence of these Gentlemen was necessary, to give Sanction to an Action of such Importance: And a Council of War being held upon their Arrival, they were at last, with some Difficulty, brought to consent to the Resolution that had been before taken. That Evening, Lieutenant-General *Dedem*, with a Detachment from the Blockade of *Mons*, took *St. Guillain* Sword in Hand, making the Garrison Prisoners of War. The same Evening also, arrived the Generals *Lottum* and Baron *Schulemburg*, with the Troops that had been employed in the Siege of *Tournay*. *Resolve to attack them.*

The 11th, early, that Detachment came and joined the Right Wing, over-against the Wood by *Sars*, where the Enemies Left was posted. The same Morning the Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, and the Field-Deputies, rode together along the Line, between the Enemies Army and theirs.

Several

1709 several Men were killed in their Presence by the Enemies Cannon-shot.

Disposition of both Armies.

The *French* Generals had posted their Left Wing, commanded by *Villars*, towards *Blaugies*, having before them the Woods of *Blaugies* and *Sart*. Their Center was before *Erquennes* and *Tanieres*; and the Right Wing, under Marshal *Bouffiers*, had in Flank the Wood of *Sansart*. The open Ground between the two Woods was about 3000 Paces broad: An Entrenchment was thrown up cross it, and before that Entrenchment was a Village, cover'd strongly by Ditches and Hedges. The Woods on both Wings were fell-ed and entrenched, and 100 Pieces of Cannon were posted in the Avenues.

The Enemy, who were 120,000 strong, having made this Disposition, the whole Army of the Allies, which faced them at a small Distance, and was not much inferior in Number, moved towards them in the Morning betimes. The Signal was given before 9 o'Clock, by firing 50 Cannon, for attacking the Enemy at once on all Sides. General *Shulemberg*, with the *British* and other Troops from *Tournay*, was drawn up to the Right of the Wood of *Sart*; the Infantry of the Prince of *Savoy*'s Army, along the Great Road which passes thro' that Wood; General *Lottum*, with Part of the Foot of the Right Wing, to the Left of the same Wood. The rest of the Infantry of that Wing, consisting chiefly of *Hanoverians*, had in Front the Lines in the Opening between the Village and the said Wood. The Infantry of the States, commanded by the Prince of *Orange*, some Battalions excepted, who attacked the Wood of *Sansart*, had in Front the Lines between the Village and that Wood. The Horse of the whole Army were posted behind the Foot, to support and second them where the Ground would permit.

At

At the Signal all moved together, and began the Attacks with incredible Bravery, and won such Succeſs at the Wood of *Sart*, that after an Hour's Reſiſtance, the Enemy, at all the three Attacks there, were driven out of the Wood, and out of their Entrenchments. On the Left, between the Village and the Wood of *Sanſart*, the Fight laſted longer; and the *Dutch* there, having three Entrenchments before them forced the two firſt; but in the Attack of the third were, by the great Fire of the Enemy, repulſed, loſing a great Number of Men. But rallying again, and the Right Wing having in the mean time made themſelves Maſters of the Wood of *Sart*, and coming to flank the Entrenchments between the two Woods, the Enemy quitted thoſe Enrenchments. This gave the Horſe an Opportunity to break into them; and thought the firſt Squadrons which entered were repulſed, yet all the Cavalry broke thro', advanced into the Plain, and there charged the Enemy's Horſe: Whereupon the Enemy's whole Army fell into Diſorder; the Confederates Left Wing having in the mean time made themſelves Maſters of the Entrenchments in the Wood of *Sanſart*, which was facilitated by ſome of their Squadrons falling upon the Enemy's Flank there. 1709

The Battle of Bareg-nies or Mal-plaquet.

To be a little more particular: The *Britiſh* Troops having forced into the Enemies Entrenchments, the Right of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army marched thro' the Wood with great Difficulty, forcing the Enemy to retire as they advanced. When they had pierced quite thro', the *Engliſh* Foot, with that of Prince *Eugene*, began to form themſelves on the Plain, after being much divided by fighting thro' the Thickneſs of the Wood. The Duke of *Marlborough* commanded an Halt as ſoon as they came into the Plain, and rode to obſerve what had paſſed on his Left, where the Troops of the States had attacked the Enemy in the Plain between

1709 tween the Woods of *Sart* and *Sanſart*. HisGrace, obſerving the great Loſs which the *Dutch* Troops had ſuffered, ordered Lieutenant-General *Withers* to march with the Body under his immediate Direction to ſuſtain them: But upon farther Deliberation, and Notice that the Lieutenant-General had been attacked, and was actually engaged with the Enemy, and that all Things went well on the Right, the Duke thought fit rather to preſs on the Advantages there, than to hazard a new Motion towards the Left in the Heat of the Action. It was ſoon after, that the Enemy's Left began to retire towards *Attich*, and draw off their Cannon from the Plain before *Bleron*. Their Foot alſo began to break in the Center: Whereupon the Duke of *Marlborough* commanded the Earl of *Orkney* to attack them in their Intrenchments on the Plains of *Bleron*, with Directions, if he ſucceeded there, to poſt himſelf in thoſe Intrenchments, and cover the Horſe as they ſhould file off through the Woods into the Plain, in order to charge the Cavalry of the Enemy, which were there drawn up. This was executed with great Reſolution and Succeſs; and though the firſt Squadrons, as we ſaid, were repulſed; yet, before the Horſe of the Allies were all marched into the Plain, and while they were forming themſelves in Order of Battle, the *French* Horſe retired by the Way of *Bavay*; and the Right of their Foot, which were entrenched on the Plains of *Bleron*, marched off with great Precipation, between the Source of the River *Honneau* and the Wood *Sanſart*.

Bravery of the Officers and Soldiers.

The Enemy's Troops, being thus put to the Rout on all Sides, left behind them their Cannon, and what elſe they had. The Prince of *Savoy*, who in the Beginning of the Action was ſlightly wounded in the Head, the Duke of *Marlborough*, and Count *Tilly*, were, during the whole Fight, on the Right and Left Wings, continually at the Head

Head of the Troops, in the hotteſt of the Fire, leading them on. The Field-Deputies animated the Troops all the while by their Preſence, and M. *Goſlinga* had a Horſe ſhot under him. All the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers, ſhewed in this bloody Battle (the bloodieſt indeed that had been fought for many Years, and between the greateſt Armies) as much Reſolution and Firmneſs as ever were ſeen, or ever can be expected from valiant Men; the Fight being very obſtinate from Half an Hour paſt 8 in the Morning, till Half an Hour paſt 2 in the Afternoon; and the Enemy were ſo advantageouſly poſted, that when the Battle was over, the Allies wondered how they had ſurmounted ſuch Difficulties. 1709

I have not been able to get any certain Account of the Number of the Slain and Wounded in this dreadful Action: But in general it is agreed, that above 20,000 Men on both Sides were left dead on the Field of Battle: Nor muſt it be wonder'd at, that more than the one Half of theſe were loſt by the Victors. The Day after the Battle was employed by the Allies in ſeeking for their Wounded, and interring Part of their Killed: which done, the Army returned to the ſame Camp they were in three Days before the Battle; their Left Wing extending to *Gogny Gauchi*, and the Right near the *Haine*. *Loſs on both Sides.*

The Enemy continued their Retreat, and one of their Brigades of Foot retired towards *Condé*: Three others were the next Day before *Valenciennes*, at the Time the Gates are uſually opened. Good Part of the Infantry of their Right Wing drew off towards *Maubege*: But the Groſs of their Horſe and Foot, who were in the main Body of their Army, having paſſed the Defiles of *Amfroidpré*, halted between *Warnies* and *Commines*, and the ſame Night paſſed the Rivulet of *Renello*, encamping with their Right at *Queſnoy*, and extending their Left towards *Valenciennes*. Marſhal *Retreat of the Enemy.*

1709 ſhal *Villars* finding himſelf very ill of a Wound he received in his Knee, to which the *French* aſcribed much of their Misfortune, Marſhal *Boufflers*, who arrived in the Camp juſt before the Fight, took on him the Command of the *French* Army.

The Allies gave the Enemy Leave to fetch off their Wounded from the Field of Battle, on Condition that they ſhould be anſwerable for them in Exchange, as Priſoners of War. For this End there was a Conference at *Bavay*, between Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, on one Part, and the Chevalier *de Luxembourg* on the other. About 300 Officers, as well Wounded as others, were ſent to the Enemy on their Parole. The *French* took 24 from the Allies, whom they likewiſe ſent back.

Diſpoſitions for the Siege of Mons.

The Siege of *Mons* being reſolved upon, the Generals ordered a vaſt Quantity of Faſcines to be got in Readineſs, ſent for the Train of Artillery, which arrived at *Bruſſels*, and made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for that Undertaking. The Prince of *Naſſau-Frieſland*, who was appointed to command it, took Poſt the 20th near the Town, with 30 Battalions and 30 Squadrons, His Highneſs had under him 3 Lieutenant-Generals, 8 Major-Generals, and 9 Brigadiers. The Grand Army made a Motion, at the ſame time, to cover the Siege; the Right, under Prince *Eugene*, taking Poſt near *St. Guillain*; and the Left, at *Villers-Miſſernicol* on the *Trouille*. The Duke of *Marlborough* had his Quarters again in the Caſtle of *Havre*.

In the mean time the Enemies gave out, that they would not ſuffer *Mons* to be taken in their Sight, but would venture a ſecond Engagement to relieve it. To be ready for them, the Quarter-Maſters-General went out the 24th, and marked out a Camp for the Army, in which all the Troops knew what Poſts every Battalion and Squadron

was

was to take, if the *French* advanced to disturb this Seige. The same Morning a Major, with 200 Foot, 40 Horse, and 100 Workmen, was sent to cut a Dy ke between *Condé* and *St. Guillain*; which had a good Effect. The following Night the Trenches were opened at two Attacks, one against the Gate of *Bertamont*, and another against the Gate of *Havre*. Four Battalions and 2000 Workmen were commanded for the former Attack, and 2 Battalions and 1000 Workmen for the latter. Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, who was at the latter Attack, received a Wound in his Neck, and his Adjutant was killed. The 26th, about 3 in the Afternoon, the Besieged made a Salley at the same Attack; and *Hill*'s Regiment, which was in the Trenches, was put at first into Disorder; but being sustained by a Regiment of *Prussians*, the Enemies were repulsed. The same Day the Besiegers took the Redoubt of *Nimi*, found therein 2 Pieces of Cannon, and made the Officer who commanded it, with 36 Men, Prisoners of War. The 30th, a Convoy with the Artillery from *Brussels* being arrived, 32 Pieces of Cannon were brought to the Batteries at the Attack of *Bertamont*, and 16 to that of *Havre*. The 1st of *October*, they took a little Hornwork and Redoubt near the *Park-Gate*, wherein the Enemy had two Pieces of Cannon, and a Lieutenant and an Ensign with 40 Men, who surrendered Prisoners of War. By the taking of these Works they became Masters of a Sluce, which was of great Use for letting out the Water that incommoded them. Those Works covered likewise the Mills, wherein the Besieged used to grind most of their Corn. The 3d, they obliged the Enemy to quit a small Redoubt on the Right of the Gate of *Havre*. 1709

On the 8th in the Morning they attacked the Counterscarp of the Hornwork at the Gate of *Havre*; and after half an Hour's Resistance, lodged

The Counterscarp and Covert ways taken.

1709 lodged themſelves on the Covert-way, having had only 60 Men killed and wounded. They took 12 Priſoners, who reported, that the Enemies were ſurpriſed, and did not expect to be attacked at that time; for otherwiſe 300 Men had been appointed for the Defence of that Poſt, who were to be ſupported by 200 *Bavarians*. The Beſiegers however, perfected their Approaches at both Attacks, and lodged themſelves on the Covert-way of the Hornwork at the Gate of *Bertamont*. The 17th in the Morning, 400 Grenadiers, ſuſtained by 500 Fuſiliers, with 700 Workmen, attacked the ſecond Counterſcarp of the Hornwork at the Gate of *Havre*; and the Enemy after a very ſhort Reſiſtance, quitted the Counterſcarp and Covert-way. The Beſiegers made a good Lodgment on them, which they afterwards perfected. The Face of the Hornwork at the Attack of *Bertamont* having been battered till the 16th, the Breach there, and likewiſe in the Ravelin, were judged practicable. The next Day at 7 in the Morning, an Attack there began with a great Diſcharge of Bombs and Grenades, whereby the Enemy in the Works were ſo much annoyed, that when the Aſſailants had mounted the Breaches, they found, to their great Surpriſe, that the Beſieged had quitted both the Ravelin and the Hornwork.

On the 19th, in the Morning, the Batteries began to fire upon the Face of the Hornwork, at the Gate of *Havre*, and continued to do ſo with very good Succeſs till the 20th about Noon, when the Breaches being almoſt practicable, and the Beſiegers making Preparations for an Attack, they were prevented by the Enemy's beating a Parley, and hanging out white Flags at both Attacks, to ſignify their Deſire to capitulate. Hoſtages were accordingly exchanged; and thoſe of the Enemy, having dined with the Prince of *Naſſau* near the *Bertamont* Attack, came in the Afternoon to the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Quarters, delivered in their

The Garriſon capitulates.

Pro-

Propoſals, and returned into the Town about Eight with the Anſwer of his Grace and Prince *Eugene*. They came out again the next Morning, and, after ſome Debates, it was agreed, that the Gate of *Nimi* ſhould be delivered to the Allies, as it was in the Evening; and that the Garriſon ſhould march out the 23d; the *French* to be conducted to *Maubeuge*, and the *Spaniſh* and *Bavarian* Troops to *Namur*. The Propoſals made by the Beſieged conſiſted of 22 Articles, which contained in general the uſual Demands made by Garriſons on the like Occaſions. They deſired eight Days Time to expect Relief; which was refuſed. They likewiſe deſired the uſual Marks of Honour, with 20 Charges for every Soldier, 10 Pieces of Cannon and 4 Mortars, with Ammunition for 12 Charges; but the Cannon and Mortars were refuſed them, and only 6 Charges allowed to each Man. They were obliged to leave Hoſtages for the Debts of the Garriſon, and other Pretenſions of the Town. The Articles were ſign'd at Prince *Eugene*'s Quarters, by his Serene Highneſs, the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Deputies of the States, and the Governor of the Town. 1709

The taking of this important Place convinced the World, that the Allies gained a real Victory the preceding Month, which the *French* pretended to deny, and that the latter had no Intention to venture a ſecond Engagement with them: For elſe they would not have miſſed the faireſt Opportunity they could ever expect, a great Part of the Confederate Forces being employed in the Siege, and the reſt of the Army lying in an open Plain without any Lines, or any other Defence to cover them.

The Scarcity of Forage, and the Difficulty of the Roads (not any thing the Allies had to fear) put a Stop to any farther Operations of War; and the Winter-Quarters being ſettled, the Army paſſed the *Haine*, in order to ſeparate, and march

1709 into their respective Garrisons. After which the Duke of *Marlborough*, with Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the States, set out for the *Hague*, where they arrived in the Beginning of *November*. The two Princes had several Conferences with the Deputies of the States, and settled many important Points in relation to the Operations of the next Campaign. In a Conference on the 12th, they each of them made a Speech, which received great Applause. They represented, amongst other Things; "That though there was Reason to "hope, that the Glorious Victory, and other "great Advantages obtained in the last Campaign, "would induce the Enemy to comply this Winter "with such Terms as might secure a good and "sure Peace; yet as this was still uncertain, there "was an absolute Necessity to pursue in Time, "and without any Delay, the necessary Measures "for taking the Field early in the next Spring, in "order to act with more Vigour than ever, in "case the Allies found it necessary to continue the "War: That above all Things it was necessary "to make sufficient Magazines of Forage, Corn, "Meal, and other Necessaries, in the most con-"venient Frontier Places, that the Troops might "be assembled, subsisted, and put in a Condition "to act as well before the Country affords any "Forage, as in the Summer; and that a sufficient "Number of Waggons be provided for transport-"ing to the Army Bread and other Necessaries; the "Troops having been more than once in the last "Campaign in great Streights, and having for some "Days been without Bread for Want of Waggons."

Speeches of Pr. Eugene *and the D. of* Marlborough *at the* Hague.

This Conference having been reported to the States-General, their High Mightinesses took it into their Consideration, and declared themselves resolved to make their utmosts Efforts the next Campaign, for reducing the Enemy to the Necessity of complying with such Terms as might secure the Peace of Christendom.

The

The *French* having desired that the Sieur *Petti-* 1709
cum, Resident of *Holstein*, should go to *Paris*, to confer with their Ministers and help them to find an Expedient for removing the Difficulties that had obstructed the Negotiations of the Peace, the Ministers of the Allies consented that he should go thither, at the Desire of the *French*, but gave him no manner of Commission to speak for them, or in their Name. He set out from the *Hague* the 12th of *November*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, foreseeing that this was but a new Artifice of the Enemies to amuse their Subjects with Hopes of a speedy Peace, and that the Journey of the Resident of *Holstein* would produce nothing at all, did not think fit to spend any more Time at the *Hague*, but taking the Opportunity of a fair Wind, embarked for *England*. Prince *Eugene* continued for some Days longer at the *Hague*; but being informed, that the Journey of M. *Petticum* would signify nothing at all, and that the *French* were proposing trifling Equivalents for the contended Article of the former Preliminaries, his Highness set out for *Vienna*.

The Sieur Petticum goes to Paris.

The Duke of Marlborough returns to England.

Five Days after his Grace arrived at *London*, it was resolved *Nemine Contradicente* by the House of Commons, that the late Victory obtained by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the other great and important Successes of the last Campaign, were so remarkable, that the House thought itself obliged to express how sensible they were of the Honour and advantages which this Kingdom and the whole Confederacy had received by his eminent Services; and that the Committee, by Order of that House, should give his Grace their thanks, and congratulate his Safety and Return to *Great-Britain*. Accordingly the Committee appointed, waited upon his Grace, and delivered to him the Resolution of the House.

His Grace receives the Thanks of the House of Commons.

The Lord Chancelor also address'd his Grace at his first Appearance in the House of Lords, to

1709 this Effect: " That he was commanded by their " Lordſhips to give his Grace the Thanks of that " Houſe, for his continued Service to her Ma- " jeſty and the Publick, during the laſt Cam- " paign: Of which nothing greater could be ſaid, " than what her Majeſty (who always ſpoke with " the utmoſt Exactneſs and Certainty) had de- " clared from the Throne, *That it had been, at leaſt,* " *as glorious as any which had preceded it.* But that " the Repetition of the Thanks of that Auguſt " Aſſembly had this Advantage of the former, " that it muſt be look'd upon as added to and " ſtanding on the Foundations already laid in the " Records of that Houſe, for the preſerving his " Memory freſh to all future Times; ſo that his " Grace had alſo the Satisfaction of ſeeing the " everlaſting Monument of his Glory riſe every " Year much higher." To which his Lordſhip added his Wiſhes, " That God might continue, " in a wonderful Manner, to preſerve ſo invalu- " able a Life, that he might not only add to that " Structure, but finiſh all with the Beauties and " Ornaments of an honourable and laſting Peace." —To this as well as to the Addreſs of the Commons, his Grace anſwered with his wonted Modeſty and Self-denial.

The Chancellor's Speech to him.

Reſolutions of the States on the Sieur Pettecum's *Anſwer.*

On *Saturday* the 14th of *December* the Deputies of the States-General for Foreign Affairs, having, according to their Commiſſion, examined the Anſwer brought from *France* by the Sieur *Pettecum*, which he had delivered in Writing as it was communicated to him by the Marquis *de Torcy*; the ſaid Deputies reported to the Aſſembly, " That having ſeriouſly conſidered the Contents " of that Anſwer, it appeared to them, that the " *French* Court entirely receded from the Founda- " tions that had been before-laid, and on which " the Negotiations for grounding thoſe of a ge- " neral Peace were begun, and had been continued; " that the Anſwer brought by the Sieur *Pettecum* " was

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" upon, except the 37th, to which the Allies had
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In Consequence of this Report the States-General took a vigorous Resolution for continuing the War, and wrote Letters to all the Allies to prompt them to renew their Efforts. The latter Part of that to the Queen of *Great-Britain* does so much Honour to our Hero, that I shall insert it.

Extract of their Letter to the Q. of Great Britain.

" We have another Request to add to our former, which is, That your Majesty would be
" pleased to send hither the Prince and Duke of
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The *French*, having received Advice of the Resolution of the States, thought fit to make further Overtures of Peace, and M. *de Torcy* sent to the Resident of *Holstein* new Proposals, not much different from the Preliminaries, and desired him to communicate them to the Allies; but as to the contested Article, they desired Leave to send a Minister to treat of an Equivalent. This Affair being debated, it was resolved on the Part of the Allies, that the *French* King should be allowed to send a Minister to the *Hague* for that Purpose, provided he ratified all the other Preliminaries. Pursuant to this Concession the *French* King sent the Marshal *d'Uxelles*, and the Abbé *de Polignac*, to confer with the Ministers of the Allies: But the Success of these Negotiations I must defer till I have given some Account of the past Campaign, in the Countries remote from the Seat of War in which the Duke of *Marlborough* commanded.

1709

The Campaign in Portugal.

The publick Conferences being broke off the preceding Spring, and M. *de Rouillé* returned to *Paris*, *Portugal* was the first Scene of Action that Year. An Engagement indeed happened there while the Conferences at the *Hague* were still on Foot, which, in the Opinion of many, had some Influence on the *French* King, and proved a new Motive to induce him to reject the Preliminaries of Peace; tho', in fact, that Affair was too inconsiderable in itself to produce so great an Alteration in the Counsels of that Prince, had his Heart been sincerely inclined. That Climate allowing the Armies to take the Field sooner than in the Northern Parts, the *Portuguese* Troops assembled about the Middle of *April* near *Estremos*, while the *Spanish* drew together about *Badajox*. The *Portuguese* advanced further towards the Enemy, and, being superior to them, resolved to attack them, if possible; considering that if they got the Victory, as was very probable, it might be attended with the Loss of *Spain* to the Duke of *Anjou*, and that if they lost the Day, the Enemies were not in a Condition to prosecute their Advantage. The Armies being very near, they had soon an Opportunity to engage: For the Marquis *de Bay* having given out, that he would make a general Forage in Sight of the *Portuguese* the 7th of *May*, the Armies came that Day to a Battle, in which the *Portuguese* Cavalry, being for the most Part newly raised, ran away, without so much as charging or being charged, leaving their Infantry exposed. These however made so brave a Defence, that they retired in Sight of the Enemy, (in which they were very much favoured by the *English* Regiments of *Barrimore* and *Stanwix*, who were taken Prisoners) and the Loss of the *Spaniards* was at least equal to that of the *Portuguese*. The Marquis *de Bay* blocked up *Olivenza*; but was obliged to raise the Blockade, and to send the Troops into Quarters of Refreshment, without having gained an Inch

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of Ground. The *Spaniards* threatened to enter *Portugal* in the Autumn Campaign, when the Arrival of General *Stanhope* at *Gibraltar*, with a Fleet and three Regiments from *Barcelona* and *Port-Mahon*, gave ſuch a jealouſy to the *Spaniards*, that the Marquis *de Bay* was ordered to ſend the beſt Part of his Troops for ſecuring the Coaſt of *Anduluſia*, and chiefly *Cadiz*, on which they ſuſpected the Allies to have a Deſign. It is very likely indeed they had, tho' they wanted an Opportunity to put it in Execution, becauſe the Forces from *England* and *Ireland*, under Convoy of Admiral *Baker*, were ſo long detained in thoſe Parts by contrary Winds, that it being too late to go upon any Enterpriſe, General *Stanhope* returned to *Barcelona*, where the Admiral arrived alſo in *November*, and landed his Forces. This Diverſion was very favourable to the *Portugueſe*; for the *Spaniards* could not form any Army to moleſt their Territories. 1709

The Campaign in *Catalonia* was not very remarkable by any great Exploits of War; but conſidering the Streights King *Charles* was reduced to, it was very glorious for that Prince, to have with a Handful of Men not only preſerved his Country againſt two powerful Armies, but likewiſe to have obtained ſome advantages over them, by ſeizing *Balaguer*, and obliging the Enemy to quit ſome Countries between the *Cinca* and the *Segra*, of which they had been poſſeſſed ſince the Taking of *Lerida*, When the News of the Taking of *Balaguer* came to *Madrid*, King *Philip* was ſo much concerned at it, that he took Poſt for his Army, giving out that he would attack the Allies. He arrived in his Army, advanced, and ſaw the Enemy; but, taking his leave of Count *Strahrenberg*, returned Poſt with the ſame Precipitation to *Madrid*, giving ſufficient Cauſe to his Enemies to laugh at his frivolous Journey. *In* Catalonia.

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1709

In Piedmont.

In *Piedmont*, the Succeſs of the Campaign came very ſhort of the Hopes the Allies had conceived upon the Taking of *Exilles* and *Feneſtrelles* the Year before. The Duke of *Savoy* declined to go into the Field, upon Account of ſome Differences between him and the Imperial Court, which the earneſt Inſtances made by General *Palmes* at *Vienna* and *Turin*, in the Name of the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the States-General, were not able to adjuſt; and notwithſtanding his Forces, with the Imperialiſts and the Auxiliaries of *Pruſſia* and *Saxe-Gotha*, took the Field under the Command of the Count *de Thaun*, forced their Paſſage over the *Alps*, defeated a conſiderable Detachment of the *French*, and advanced into the Dutchy of *Savoy*, as far as the Banks of the *Rhone*, ſtriking a very great Conſternation among the neighbouring Provinces of *France*; yet they could not paſs that River, nor find an Opportunity to attack the Duke of *Berwick*, poſted in an almoſt inacceſſible Camp near *Montmelian*, and at laſt were obliged to return into *Piedmont* and the *Milaneſe*, having found it impoſſible to maintain themſelves in *Savoy* during the Winter. This had been projected, that the Army might beat hand to attack *France* the next Campaign at the ſame time, and in Concert with the other Armies of the Allies.

On the Rhine.

The preſſing Exhortations made on the Part of the Allies to the Empire having not been able to quicken the Reſolutions of its Members, their Forces came late into the Field, and not more numerous nor better provided than the preceding Years: However the Elector of *Hanover*, being prevailed upon for the Good of the Common Cauſe, repaired to the Army on the *Upper Rhine*, as ſoon as it was in a Condition to act, and reſolved to execute a Project, which ſome Accident had diſappointed the Year before. Having paſſed the *Rhine*, he marched directly to the Lines of the Enemy, and made a Feint to attack them, while

Count

Count *Merci* was detached towards the *Black-Foreſt* with a Body of Horſe, with Orders to paſs the *Rhine* at the Foreſt Towns, march through the Territories of *Baſil*, and take poſt on the *French* Side of the River. Mean time General *Weykerſheim*, with a Body of Foot and ſome Artillery, marched to lay a Bridge at *Newenburg*, and come up to join him. Theſe Orders were ſo well executed, that the Bridge as finiſhed, and that Army encamped as had been directed. This ſo alarmed the Enemy, that Count *du Bourg* was ſent with a Detachment to oppoſe Count *Merci*, whom he defeated while the Elector was coming up to ſupport him: And thus the Deſign that had been formed of penetrating into the *Franche Comté* was again diſappointed, and the Campaign on that Side concluded without any remarkable Action. 1709

The Pope brought to Submiſſion.

I muſt not omit another Affair that happened the ſame Year, as it made no ſmall Noiſe, and had ſome Effect on what paſſed afterwards in other Parts. The Emperor *Joſeph*, being convinced of the Partiality of the Pontiff of *Rome* for the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and reſolved to do himſelf Juſtice, ordered his Troops to ſeize *Comacchio* and ſome other Places, under Pretence that they were Fiefs of the Empire. Theſe Hoſtilities were follow'd by others, and the Campaign in 1708 being ended in *Piedmont*, the Count *de Thaun* marched with the Imperial Troops and ſome Auxiliaries into the Countries of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, and threatned to advance directly to *Rome*. This Proceeding of the Imperialiſts exaſperated the Holy Father, who preſently gave out Commiſſions for augmenting his Forces, and propoſed a League between him and ſeveral States of *Italy* with *France* The Marſhal of *Teſſe* was ſent Ambaſſador of that Crown of *Rome*, and was deſigned to be Generaliſſimo of the Confederate; but *France* being unable to aſſiſt them with any Money or Troops, the

Imperialiſts

1709 Imperialiſts being almoſt at the Gates of *Rome*, and the Confederate Fleet in the *Mediterranean* ready to bombard any Place that ſhould declare for the Common Enemy, the Pope thought fit to lay aſide his Warlike Deſigns, and hearken to the Propoſals made him by the Marquis *de Prie*, on the Part of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; inſomuch, that a Treaty was concluded between that Miniſter and Carnal *Paulucci*, whereby the Pope promiſed to acknowledge King *Charles* for King of *Spain*, and to reduce his Troops to their former Number. This Accommodation gave ſo much Diſguſt to the Courts of *France* and *Madrid*, that their Miniſters were recalled from *Rome*, and the Pope's Nuncio was commanded to depart *Spain* by the Duke of *Anjou*, who beſides took ſeveral Reſolutions very prejudicial to the Holy See. Mean time the Pope found Means to delay the Recognition of King *Charles*, and the Congregation appointed to examine that Affair would never agree to it; but when he ſaw the Campaign ended in *Piedmont*, and the Imperial Troops returning, he wrote a Brief to the King of *Spain*, and acknowledged his Title in a publick Conſiſtory, by allowing his Nomination to the See of *Solzona* in *Catalonia*, as Catholick King of *Spain*. 'Tis true, that in that Act he declared, That this was without Prejudice to the other Poſſeſſor, *Philip* V. likewiſe Catholick King of *Spain*. But however, this was a great Point gain'd, and, for the preſent, convinced the *Spaniards*, that they might with a ſafe Conſcience ſubmit to King *Charles*, though they had ſworn Fealty to *Philip*. —— I now reſume the Negotiations of Peace, which I left theſe Occurrences.

Expectations of a Peace.

The taking of *Tournay* and *Mons*, the Victory of *Malplaquet*, and other Succeſſes of the Allies

Allies in the Year 1709, together with the great Difficulties *France* was reduced to at that time, through a Scarcity of Corn, made People believe, that the following Year would produce a Peace, ſuch as the Allies had propoſed to themſelves, which might ſecure for a long Time a general Tranquillity in Chriſtendom: And as, upon the earneſt Inſtances of *France*, the Conferences for ſettling the Preliminaries were renewed in the Beginning of *March*, many were of Opinion, that this grand Affair would be adjuſted before the Opening of the Campaign. The Quality of the Perſons ſent on the Part of *France* to manage thoſe Conferences, and the ſolemn Aſſurances given by the *French* Court, that the moſt Chriſtian King conſented to all the Preliminaries, except the 37th, for which they had an Equivalent to propoſe, rendered this Opinion very probable. But the Event ſhewed, that Peace, or at leaſt ſuch a Peace as the Allies deſigned for the Good of *Europe*, was very far from the Thoughts of that Prince. 1709

The Town of *Gertruydenberg* being appointed for theſe Conferences, the Marſhal *d'Uxelles* and the Abbot *de Polignac*, Plenipotentiaries of *France*, arrived there the 10th of *March*, being met at *Moerdyke* by Meſſieurs *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen*, Deputies of the States, who were to manage the Conferences on the Part of the Allies: They had the ſame Day a Conference together; but inſtead of Equivalent for the 37th Article of the Preliminaries, as had been promiſed by their Court, for ſecuring the Reſtoration of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, they propoſed a ſeparate Treaty for *France*, with a Promiſe that they would not aſſiſt the Duke of *Anjou*. This Propoſal of the *French* being communicated to the Miniſters of the Allies at

The Conferences at Gertruydenberg.

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THE HISTORY OF *JOHN* Duke of *Marlborough.*

BOOK VII.

To the End of the War; with the Remainder of the Duke's Life, and his Death and Character.

1710 *The Duke of* Marlborough *and Prince* Eugene *take the Field.*

THE Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* ſet out for the Army in the Middle of *April*, and intended to attack the Lines by the 30th of that Month; but this happened much ſooner, to the agreeable Surpriſe of all the Confederates. The Troops on the *Maeſe*, in *Brabant*, and *Flanders*, being ordered to march towards *Tournay*, where they were to rendezvous, the Generals arrived there the 18th, and began their March the 20th, towards the *French* Lines, which

which they paſſed the 21ſt, without any Oppoſi- 1710
tion. But of this Succeſs, and the Taking and Retaking the Poſt of *Mortaigne*, which preceeded it, we have the following Particulars, contained in ſeveral Letters written to the States-General.

Lord Albemarle *takes, loſes, and retakes* Mortaigne

According to a Project concerted with Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, the Earl of *Albemarle* made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions to attack *Mortaigne* with 6 Veſſels, 6 Pieces of Cannon, and 300 Men. The Attack was made the 14th at Break of Day, with ſo much ſucceſs, that the Enemy thought it neceſſary to ſurrender; after a ſmall Reſiſtance, and a Captain, 4 Subaltern, 5 Serjeants, and 65 private Men, were taken Priſoners. His Lordſhip left therein Captain *Houzé*, with his Free Company, and 20 other Men to ſecure the Caſtle, and poſted 15 Men in the Town-Houſe, and 10 in the Redoubt: But the Enemies, by Means of the Galliots they had at *Condé*, on which they had planted 7 or 8 Pieces of Cannon, attacked that Poſt again the 15th, by Favour of a great Detachment of Infantry, and took it after three Hours Reſiſtance, making the Garriſon, conſiſting of 50 Men, Priſoners. They held it, however, but a ſhort Time; for on the 18th, with a Detachment of 600 Men of the Garriſon of *Tournay*, and ſome Veſſels and Cannon, *Mortaigne* was re-taken, notwithſtanding the Enemy was aſſiſted in their Defence by 12 or 15 Galliots. The Garriſon conſiſted of 4 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, ſeveral Serjeants, and 200 Grenadiers, who were all taken Priſoners.

The Enemies Lines paſſed.

The Duke of *Marlborough* having taken the Field, and conferred with Count *Tilly* and Prince *Eugene*, and the Deputy *Claerbergen*, it was reſolved that all the Troops ſhould take with them Bread and Forage till the 23d. They accordingly provided themſelves the 20th, and made the other neceſſary Diſpoſitions for marching towards the Canal, between *Doway* and *Liſle*, in order to

paſs

1709 the *Hague*, they were immediately ſenſible, that the *French* had no other Deſign in theſe Negotiations than to divide them, and that theſe Conferences would break up without any Succeſs: However, it was reſolved to continue them, that the *French* might not have a Pretence to charge the Allies with the Prolongation of the War, as they had often attempted, in order to encourage their own People, and create ſome Uneaſineſs amongſt the Subjects of their Enemies; which was certainly their Intention, as it evidently appeared ſome time after.

The Plenipotentiaries and Deputies had ſeveral other Conferences together, which it would be too tedious to take notice of; and we muſt content ourſelves to obſerve, that the Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, which they reduced to *Sicily* and *Sardinia* in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Subſidies they offered towards the Charges of the War for obliging that Prince to quit the *Spaniſh* Throne, (ſuppoſing all along a ſeperate Peace with *France*, and the Continuation of War to conquer *Spain* and the *Indies*; contrary to the firſt Foundation of the Negotiations;) this, I ſay, not being ſatisfactory to the Allies, they inſiſted on a poſitive Declaration of *France* about that eſſential Point; without which they judged it to no Purpoſe to continue the Conferences. The *French* being thus brought to a Neceſſity to declare their Mind, broke off the Conferences; and their Plenipotentiaries wrote a long Letter to the Penſionary *Heinſius*, dated the 20th of *July*, 1710; wherein they endeavoured to juſtify the Conduct of their Court and the Negotiations; and had the Confidence to charge the Allies, and in particular the *Dutch*, with the Continuation of the War, telling their Penſionary in plain Terms, " That their longer " Stay at *Gertruydenberg* would be to no pur-

" poſe

" poſe, ſince thoſe who governed the Repub- 1709
" lick thought it their Intereſt to make the
" War depend upon an impoſſible Condition;
" and that their King left it to the Judgment
" of all the World, and even to the People
" of *England* and *Holland*, to diſtinguiſh who
" were the true Authors of the Continuance
" of ſo bloody a War."

THE

THE HISTORY OF JOHN Duke of *Marlborough*.

BOOK VII.

To the End of the War; with the Remainder of the Duke's Life, and his Death and Character.

1710

The Duke of Marlborough *and Prince* Eugene *take the Field.*

THE Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* ſet out for the Army in the Middle of *April*, and intended to attack the Lines by the 30th of that Month; but this happened much ſooner, to the agreeable Surpriſe of all the Confederates. The Troops on the *Maeſe*, in *Brabant*, and *Flanders*, being ordered to march towards *Tournay*, where they were to rendezvous, the Generals arrived there the 18th, and began their March the 20th, towards the *French* Lines, which

which they paſſed the 21ſt, without any Oppoſi- 1710
tion. But of this Succeſs, and the Taking and Retaking the Poſt of *Mortaigne*, which preceeded it, we have the following Particulars, contained in ſeveral Letters written to the States-General.

Lord Albemarle takes, loſes, and retakes Mortaigne

According to a Project concerted with Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, the Earl of *Albemarle* made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions to attack *Mortaigne* with 6 Veſſels, 6 Pieces of Cannon, and 300 Men. The Attack was made the 14th at Break of Day, with ſo much ſucceſs, that the Enemy thought it neceſſary to ſurrender; after a ſmall Reſiſtance, and a Captain, 4 Subaltern, 5 Serjeants, and 65 private Men, were taken Priſoners. His Lordſhip left therein Captain *Houzé*, with his Free Company, and 20 other Men to ſecure the Caſtle, and poſted 15 Men in the Town-Houſe, and 10 in the Redoubt: But the Enemies, by Means of the Galliots they had at *Condé*, on which they had planted 7 or 8 Pieces of Cannon, attacked that Poſt again the 15th, by Favour of a great Detachment of Infantry, and took it after three Hours Reſiſtance, making the Garriſon, conſiſting of 50 Men, Priſoners. They held it, however, but a ſhort Time; for on the 18th, with a Detachment of 600 Men of the Garriſon of *Tournay*, and ſome Veſſels and Cannon, *Mortaigne* was re-taken, notwithſtanding the Enemy was aſſiſted in their Defence by 12 or 15 Galliots. The Garriſon conſiſted of 4 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, ſeveral Serjeants, and 200 Grenadiers, who were all taken Priſoners.

The Enemies Lines paſſed.

The Duke of *Marlborough* having taken the Field, and conferred with Count *Tilly* and Prince *Eugene*, and the Deputy *Claerbergen*, it was reſolved that all the Troops ſhould take with them Bread and Forage till the 23d. They accordingly provided themſelves the 20th, and made the other neceſſary Diſpoſitions for marching towards the Canal, between *Doway* and *Liſle*, in order to

paſs

1710 paſs it, and get into the Enemy's Lines. And the next Morning about Six, the Prince of *Wirtemberg* and Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, with 15 Battalions, and ſome Horſe, got into the Lines at *Pont à Vendin*. The few Troops they had there, for the Defence of that Poſt, retired without firing a Gun, and about 30 Battolions, with ſome Squadrons poſted near *Lens* and *Bethune*, made likewiſe their Retreat, partly towards *Arras*, and partly towards *Douay*. Here the Right Wing got thro', and the Left at the ſame Time paſſed at *Courierre*.

The Army encamped that Night in the Plain of *Lens*, and the 22d marched again very early to diſlodge the *French*, who were aſſembling their Troops near *Vitry* behind the *Scarpe*, to diſpute the Paſſage of that River. In order thereto, the Marſhal *d'Artagnan* had got together as many Troops as he could, and thoſe under the Chevalier *de Luxembourg* joined them the ſame Night. But, notwithſtanding they made a pretty conſiderable Body, and that their Poſt was very advantageous, they retired with ſo great Precipitation upon the Approach of the Allies, that they left Part of their Tents and Baggage behind them. Bridges being then laid over the *Scarpe*, the Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel* was detached with 12 Squadrons to fall on the Rear of the Enemy, who retired ſo faſt, that his Highneſs overtook only ſome few of them, and made them Priſoners. The Army under the Duke of *Marlborough* paſſed the *Scarpe* the ſame Night, encamping the Right near *Vitry* on that River, and the Left at *Gouy*. Prince *Eugene*, with his Diviſion remained on the other Side of the *Scarpe* to inveſt *Douay*, the Siege whereof had been reſolved upon. That Place indeed was of great importance for the further Proſecution of their Highneſſes Deſigns, becauſe Boats with all Manner of Proviſions might come up thither from *Ghent*. General *Cadogan* marched therefore the

Paſſage of the Scarpe.

23d,

23d, to take Poſt at *Pont à Rais*, and other De- 1710
tachments were made to open a Communication over the *Lower Scarpe* with *Liſle* and *Tournay*. The Enemy in the mean time quitted *St. Amand*, *Marchienne*, and the Abby of *Haſnon* below *Doway*, and retire towards *Cambray*, about which Place they propoſed to aſſemble their Grand Army.

All Things being diſpoſed for beſieging *Doway* Doway *in-* in the uſual Form, both Armies made a Motion *veſted.* to inveſt the Place. The Army under Prince *Eugene* reached from *Vitry* on the *Scarpe* to *Pont Oby*, and that under the Duke of *Marlborough* from the other Side of the *Scarpe* over-againſt *Vitry* to *Pont à Rais*. The 24th was ſpent in laying ſeveral Bridges below and above *Doway*, on the *Scarpe* and the Canal, and on the 25th they began to work on the Lines of Circumvallation. They continued theſe with great Expedition, advanced with the main Army, and took all other Meaſures for facilitating their Enterpriſe till the 30th, when his Grace received a good Number of Faſcines, Gabions, and other Proviſions; and the ſame Day learned that the Garriſon of *Doway* conſiſted of 4 Squadrons of Dragoons, and 17 Battalions, but that their Battalions were not complete. Some Sluices which the Enemy had broke on the *Upper Deule*, and which the Duke of *Marlborough* had ordered to be repaired, were now brought into ſuch a Condition, as rendered that River navigable as far as *Oby*. The 1ſt of *May* 800 Men were detached from Prince *Eugene*'s Army to attack the Caſtle of *Pignonville*, near the Fort *Scarpe*, which would have annoyed the Beſiegers in their Approaches; and, after an Hour's Reſiſtance, the Garriſon, conſiſting of about 100 Men, ſurrendered Priſoners of War. In the mean time, the Generals cauſed a Camp to be marked out between *Lens* and *Eſquerchin*, to draw up the Army, in Caſe the Enemy made any Motion that Way; for they had nothing to fear on the other Side.

The

1710 The neceſſary Preparations being made, 40 Battalions were appointed for the Siege, under the Princes of *Anhalt Deſſau* and *Naſſau-Frieſland*, both Generals of Foot, with 4 Lieutenant-Generals under them, 8 Major-Generals, and 8 Brigadiers; and the 4th, at Night, the Trenches were opened on the North-ſide of the *Scarpe*, between the Gates of *Ocre* and *Eſquerchin*, with ſo much Order, that the Enemy did not perceive it till about 3 the next Morning, when they diſcovered the Approaches conſiderably advanced, and the Men already covered. There were two Attacks; and 4 Battalions, with 3000 Workmen, were commanded for each. When the Enemy had ſeen the Approaches, they made a terrible Fire upon the Workmen, but to no great Purpoſe, for only three Men were killed. Beſides the 17 Battalions in the Town, the *French* had 3 Battalions in Fort *Scarpe*: But as they did not expect to be ſo ſoon inveſted a great Number of Officers were abſent from their Commands, and the Allies took ſeveral of them as they endeavoured to throw themſelves into the Place.

The Trenches open'd.

On the 7th, about 10 at Night, the Beſieged, to the Number of 1000 Foot. moſt Grenadiers, and 200 Dragoons, made a Salley, under the Command of the Brigadier Duke *de Mortemar*, againſt the Beſiegers Left Attack; put the Workmen into Diſorder, and levelled ſome Paces of their Parallel. Colonel *Sutten's* Regiment, which was the firſt that ſupported the Workmen, ſuffered very much: But Major-General *Macartney*, with the other Regiments in the Trenches, coming up, to their Relief the Enemies were repulſed with the conſiderable Loſs, and purſued to their Counterſcarp. The Action was very hot, and the *Engliſh* had about 300 Men killed and wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel *Gledhill*, of *Sutton*'s Regiment, was wounded and taken Priſoner. Hereupon the Engineers thought fit to order ſome Redoubts to be

The Garriſon makes a Salley.

caſt

caſt up along the Trenches, for the better Security of them againſt any other Salley. 1710

The 10th all the Quarter-Maſters were ordered to go and mark the Ground appointed for their reſpective Troops, in caſe the Generals though it neceſſary, upon the Motions of the Enemy, to draw up the Army, which then was to take up the whole Ground between the Marſhes of *Aunay* and the *Scarpe*. Marſhal *Villars* arrived about this Time in the *French* Army, which lay encamped in ſeveral Bodies near *Bethune*, *Bapaume*, *Arras*, *Cambray*, *Landrecy*, and behind the River *Somme*. As the Camp marked out for the Allies, in the Plain of *Lens*, was very ſtrong, the Enemies talked of paſſing the *Scheld* between *Bouchain* and *Denain*, and coming at them by the Plain of *Oſtrevant*, between the *Scheld* and the *Lower Scarpe*. This made the Duke of *Marlborough*, with the other Generals go to view the Country between the *Lower Scarpe* and the Rivulet of *Senſet*, which falls into the *Scheld* at *Bouchain*, and mark out a Camp on that Side, that the Army might be drawn that Way upon the firſt Motion of the Enemy. *Motions of the Armies.*

It is needleſs to relate all the Particulars of this tedious and bloody Siege, which laſted 52 Days from the Opening of the Trenches; or all the Motions of the two Armies, which kept ſo near each other, that the Officers on both Sides had free Converſation together. The Reader need only be informed, that as the Garriſon of *Douay* had only two narrow Attacks to defend, in which the Beſiegers were obliged to advance by the Way of Sap; and being very numerous, and well provided, they made frequent Sallies, in which a great Number of Men were loſt on both Sides; and ſprung ſeveral Mines, that deſtroyed the Works of the Beſiegers: And that Marſhal *Villars*, after his Arrival in the Neighbourhood of the Town, kept the Duke of *Marlborough* in continual Alarm, and

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1710 the whole Confederate Army in Expectation of a Battle, which the Marſhal however had no Intention to hazard. I ſhall only give one Inſtance of the Civilities that paſſed between the adverſe Generals, which at the ſame Time may ſerve for a Specimen of M. *de Villars*'s gallant Temper.

An Interview between the Prince of Heſſe *and Marſhal* Villars.

One Morning the Generals of the *French* Army, with about 200 Officers, came to take a View of the Inundation on the *Scarpe*, between that River and *Bouchain*; and the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel* happening to be there, M. *de Villars* ſent to know, whether he would give him Leave to ſalute him. His Highneſs conſented, advanced with ſome Officers to meet the Marſhal, and told him, that he was very glad to be acquainted with him. They exchanged ſeveral Compliments; and M. *de Villars* preſented to him the Marſhals of *Berwick*, *d' Arco*, and *Monteſquion*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Chevalier *de St. George*; telling him, in ſhewing the latter, *This is the Chevalier de St. George*; and adding, *You know well enough who he is*. He invited his Highneſs to come to his Camp and honour him with his Company at Dinner; adding, "That he would command his Army to "their Arms, and paſs them in Review before "him." The Prince anſwered, "That he could "not accept his Compliment at preſent; but that "it might happen upon another Opportunity;" concluding, "That it only depended on the King "to procure that Opportunity ſoon." They then parted with mutual Civilities, the Prince returning to his Poſt, and the *French* Generals to their Camp.

While the Siege of *Doway* was advancing ſlowly, ſeveral Detachments marched from the Camp of the Allies to *Liſle*, pretending they came to ſecure the Paſſage of the *Lys*, and re fortify *Warneton*: But it ſoon appeared that their Buſineſs was to favour an Enterprize contrived by the famous Partiſan *Baptiſte*, which however miſcarried, when they

they thought themſelves almoſt ſure of putting it in Execution. That Partiſan, knowing that the Enemy had a very ſmall Garriſon in *Ypres*, reſolved to ſurpriſe that Place; and the Generals having approved his project, 5 or 6000 Men were ordered to ſecond it. They marched with all poſſible Secrecy, and the Partiſan who advanced before with ſome of his Men, found Means to get within the Barrier: But the Centenel happening to know him perſonally, pulled up the Draw-Bridge, gave the Alarm, and the Garriſon coming on) *Baptiſte* was taken with ſome of his Men, and ſome others were killed. The Troops that were advanced near the Barrier, to ſuſtain that Enterprize, ſeeing the Deſign diſcovered, retired. 1710

An Attempt on Ypres *miſcarries.*

On *June* 25, at 2 in the Afternoon, the Garriſon of *Doway* beat a Parley, and offered to capitulate for the Town only, without including Fort *Scarpe*: But this being refuſed, they ſent Hoſtages to both Attacks, and received others from the Princes of *Anhalt* and *Naſſau*. The *French* Hoſtages were conducted to the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Quarters, where they were again told, that no Capitulation could be granted to the Town, without including Fort *Scarpe*; and Orders were given to the Troops in the Trenches to hold themſelves in a Readineſs to renew the Hoſtilities. But the 26th in the Morning, M. *Albergotti*, who commanded in the Fort, ſignified that he was willing to ſurrender it at the ſame Time as the Town, but that it not being attacked, he expected to remove all the Proviſions and Ammunition that were in it. This Demand occaſioned a Conference in Prince *Eugene*'s Quarters; where at laſt, the Capitulation for the Town and Fort *Scarpe* was agreed upon and ſigned. The Subſtance of the principal Articles was, that the Romiſh Religion ſhould continue there without Alteration: That the Gate of *Morel* ſhould be delivered up

The Garriſons of Doway *capitulated.*

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1710 the 27th, and the Garriſon ſhould march out the 29th: And that all Officers, Military and Civil, ſhould have the uſual Tokens of Honour, 6 Cannon and 2 Mortars, and, 2 Days Proviſions, to *Cambray*.

They march out. In purſuance of theſe and other Conditions, the Gate of *Morel* and the Outworks of Fort *Scarpe* were delivered up to the Allies, and Commiſſaries were appointed to take Poſſeſſion of the Magazines, and view the Mines, which were diſcovered by the Garriſon. M. *Albergotti*, having dined the 27th with the Prince of *Naſſau*, and the 28th with the Duke of *Marlborough*, marched out the 29th at the Head of his Garriſon, and ſaluted the Princes and other Generals of the Allies; and having marched to ſome Diſtance, came back and continued with them till all his Troops were filed off. Then five *Dutch* Battalions and one *Saxon*, marched into the Place, of which Lieutenant-General *Hompeſch* took Poſſeſſion as Governor; as did Brigadier *Des Roques*, Engineer-General of the States, of Fort *Scarpe*. The Generals went afterwards to viſit the Place, and Orders were given to level the Works, and repair the Breaches with all poſſible Speed. They found in the Place 40 Pieces of Braſs Cannon, 200 of Iron, 8 Mortars, with Ammunition and ſmall Arms; but perceived that Proviſions had begun to grow ſhort.

On the 30th, when the Duke of *Marlborough* went into the Town to view it, he was met and complimented by the Univerſity in a Body; and M. *Adrian Delcourt*, Provoſt of *St. Peter*, and Chancellor of that Learned Body, made to him the following Speech.

My

My Lord, 1710

" We come to assure your Highness of our
" most humble Respects, and of the inviolable *Speech of*
" Fidelity we shall have towards our new Sove- *the Chan-*
" reign. 'Tis with much Joy and Justice that we *cellor of*
" pay you our Devoirs. We cannot sufficiently *the Univer-*
" respect a Sovereign Prince of the Empire, a *sity of* Do-
" Duke, a Generalissimo of the Armies of *Great*-way *to the*
" *Britain*, a Hero whose Victories and Conquests *Duke of*
" have amazed the World. *Germany* and the Marlbo-
" *Netherlands* are, my Lord, Eye-witnesses of rough.
" your heroic Actions. You have beaten your
" Enemies at *Hockstedt*, *Ramillies*, *Oudenarde* and
" *Blaregnies:* You have forced Lines in *Germany*
" which seemed impenetrable, and in *Brabant* you
" have broken into others by a singular Conduct,
" in Sight of a powerful Army, which you put
" into Confusion: You have conquered the Coun-
" try of *Liege*. the *Spanish Gelderland*, *Brabant*,
" *Flanders*, and Part of *Hainault:* You go from
" Conquest to Conquest, and the least Step you
" advance further, you subdue a whole Kingdom.
" We do not compare you, my Lord, with He-
" roes of Antiquity, whose great Actions were
" sullied with all manner of Vices: You are a
" Hero, Wise, Moderate, Just, Gracious, Gene-
" rous, and equally averse to Cruelty and De-
" bauchery. No Wonder then that the Emperor
" has made you a Prince of the Empire; that the
" Queen of *Great-Britain* has conferred the highest
" Honours and multiplied Favours upon you; that
" her Parliaments have given you all possible
" Proofs of Esteem and Affection, and that the
" *French* themselves have on a thousand Occasions
" proclaimed your Praises. We should never have
" done, my Lord, should we enter into a more
" particular Survey of all your heroic Actions
" and your admirable Qualities; but we must
" consider that we ought not to detain too long a
" Prince whose Moments are so precious. Give

1710 " us Leave only to desire the Protection of your
" Highness for our University, which stands in
" great Need of it. We might in a Revolution, be
" exposed to some Storm inconsistent with that
" Peace and Tranquility which are so necessary
" to make the Sciences flourish; but we shall have
" no Cause to entertain any Fear, if you are
" pleased to grant us the Favour we most hum-
" bly ask. We shall be infinitely obliged to you,
" my Lord, for it, and shall offer up our Prayers
" to God for the Queen of *Great-Britain*, your
" Highness, and the happy Success of all your
" Enterprises."

The Armies in Motion.

A great Convoy of Bread and other Provisions being come to the Camp from *Tournay*, and the several Detachments that were posted on the Road, for the Security of a Communication during the Siege, having joined the other Forces, the two Armies marched the 10th of *June*. They were obliged to halt the next Day at *Vimy*, for the Coming-up of their Baggage and the Bread-Waggons, which had been retarded in their March by the Badness of the Roads; but were so well secured by a Rear-guard of 30 Squadrons, that the Enemy, tho' they had made several Bridges over the *Scarpe*, did not think fit to attempt any thing upon them. The next Day the Armies encamped at *Villars Brulin*, extended from the Right upon the Source of the *Lave* to the Left upon the River of *Lens*, with the *Scarpe*, before them, where their Situation was such, that Parties were at liberty to make Incursions into the Enemy's Country from the *Boulonnois* to *Picardy*. In the mean time Marshal *Villars*, being joined likewise by several Detachments, and having drawn out the Garrisons of *Condé*, *Quesnoy*, *Valenciennes*, and *Cambray*, made a Movement with his Army, and encamped behind the new Lines, from *Arras* along the *Crinchon* towards *Miramont*.

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The Princes of *Savoy* and *Marlborough*, seeing the Impoſſibility to attack the *French* with any good Hopes of Succeſs, or to inveſt *Arras*, thought fit to beſiege *Bethune*, and for that Purpoſe detached the 15th of *July* 25 Battalions, and 18 Squadrons, which inveſted that Place the ſame Day. There were two Attacks, one commanded by General *Schulemburg*, and the other by the Baron *de Fagel*, and the Cavalry under them was commanded by Lieutenant-General *Wood*. The neceſſary Preparations being made for that Siege, the Trenches were opened the 23d at Night, and the Works conſiderably advanced without any Loſs. The 24th the Garriſon made a vigorous Sally, which occaſioned a ſharp Diſpute, in which about 100 Men on each Side were killed, and a great many wounded. The Artillery being arrived, they began to fire in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, by which Time the Allies had found Means to drain an Inundation, which covered the weakeſt Part of the Place. 1710

Bethune inveſted.

The *French* had ſo poſitively given out, that they would fight the Allies, if they undertook another Siege, that on the 31ſt of *July*, when their Army marched out of their Entrenchments, it was believed M *de Villars* would attack the Confederate Armies, who lying in a Camp, without any Entrenchments, gave him a fair Opportunity. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* thereupon drew up the Forces in Order of Battle, and recalled the Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, who was poſted with a ſtrong Detachment between *Lens* and *La Baſſe*, to ſecure the Convoys from *Liſle* and *Tournay*: But on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, when the Duke of *Marlborough* advanced with a Detachment to obſerve the *French* Army, he found, that, inſtead of preparing to fight, they were caſting up a new Line and Entrenchments from the River *Ugy*, that falls into the *Scarpe* about *Arras*, to the Source of the River *Canche* which gave him an undeniable Proof

A Battle expected.

1710 that they had no Design to disturb the Siege of *Bethune*. That Place was very strong, however, by Art and Nature, and M. *du Puy Vauban*, Nephew to the famous Engineer of that Name, being Governor of it, every body expected a brave Defence.

In effect, the Siege was pretty long, and the Defence obstinate: But at last, Messieurs *Schulemberg* and *Fagel* having carried on their Attacks with all possible Vigour, and taken Sword in Hand the Counterscarp, M. *du Puy Vauban* beat a Parley the 28th of *August*, and desired to capitu-

Bethune capitulates. late. The Hostages being exchanged, an Officer was sent to the Grand Army, to inform the Princes of *Savoy* and *Marlborough*. Their Highnesses went to the Camp of the Besiegers the next Morning, when the Articles were signed, and a Gate delivered up to the Allies the same Day. The 31st the Garrison marched out with all the Marks of Honour, to the Number of 1700 Men, having lost near 2000 in the Defence of the Town. In the room of these the Allies put 3 Battalions, under the Command of Major-General *Keppel*. It was very observable that M. *de Villars* offered to give the Allies no Disturbance during this whole Siege, but was contented to keep himself behind his Lines.

The French *repulsed in attacking P.* Eugene's *Foragers.* The Right Wing of Prince *Eugene*'s Army going out one Morning to forage, in the Front towards *St. Pol*, under a Guard of 500 Horse, and 1000 *Danish* and *Hessian* Foot; Marshal *Villars*, having notice of it the Night before, detached 30 Squadrons under the Count *de Broglio* to attack the Foragers, and followed in Person to be an Eye-witness of that Action. That General being arrived on the Mount of *St. Pol*, ordered the Foragers to be attacked on that Side by 4 Squadrons of Carabineers, while some other Squadrons were advancing to attack them another Way. They fell upon 3 of the Imperial Squadrons, which gave way; but the Foragers, joining with their Guard beat the Enemy back with great Slaughter; and

as

as they retired by the Villages of *Gouy* and *Ternois*, the *Daniſh* and *Heſſian* Infantry poſted there made ſuch a Fire upon them that many were killed. M. *de Villars* advanced in Perſon, and, having in a Manner ſurrounded that Poſt, ſummoned the Infantry to ſurrender, and, upon Refuſal, ordered Part of his Horſe to diſmount to attack them: But the *French* were ſo warmly received, that they retired in Diſorder; and in the mean time the Piquet-guard of the Army advancing, and Prince *Eugene* marching with Part of his Cavalry, M. *de Villars* thought fit to retire with Precipitation, leſt this ſhould occaſion a general Action, having loſt a great many Men, beſides a Colonel, and 20 other Officers, with 300 private Men made Priſoners, and 150 Horſes. The Allies loſt on their Side the Major of *Merci*'s Regiment, 2 Captains of Huſſars, and ſome few private Men made Priſoners. Next Morning the Huſſars brought in 235 Horſes and Mules beſides a great Number of Oxen, which they took near the Enemies Camp. 1710

The Princes of *Savoy* and *Marlborough*, being willing to make a good Uſe of the Remaining Part of the fair Seaſon, reſolved to beſiege *Aire* and *St. Venant* at the ſame Time. Accordingly on * the 2d of *September* the two Armies marched from their reſpective Camps of *Villars Brulin* and *Rebreuvre*, and the 3d a Detachment was made to ſecure ſeveral Poſts about *Aire*, which took in the Caſtle of *Iſbergue* a Captain, a Lieutenant, and 70 private Men Priſoners; beſides a Captain and 30 Grenadiers in the Village of *Lambre*. The 4th a Detachment of 2000 Horſe and 6 Battalions marched from the Camp to make Bridges over the *Lys* at *St. Quintin*, paſs that River, and block up *Aire* on that Side, while the Armies marched nearer that Place. The Troops which had been employed in the Siege of *Bethune* joined them in their March, and thoſe deſigned for the Sieges of

Aire *and* St. Venant *inveſted.*

* See the Journal of the Army.

1710 *Aire* and *St. Venant*, marched the 5th, and the 6th inveſted thoſe Places. There were 40 Battalions employed in the Siege of *Aire*, under the Command of the Prince of *Anhalt*; and 20 Battalions in that of *St. Venant* under the Prince of *Naſſau Frieſland*. The Horſe in thoſe two Sieges conſiſted of 46 Squadrons, commanded by the Earl of *Albemarle*. The heavy Artillery and Ammunition were brought up the *Lys* to *Mirville* near *St. Venant*, and a good Guard of Horſe and Foot appointed for the Security of the Boats. The Quarter-Maſters alſo marked out a Field of Battle for the Armies, in caſe the *Freneh* made any Motion to relieve *Aire*.

The Trenches were opened before *Aire* the 12th, at two Attacks, one on the Side of *St. Quintin*, and the other on the Side of the Village of *Lambre*, which were both carried on with a great deal of Succeſs, notwithſtanding the Difficulty of the Ground, and the Defence of the Garriſon. The Approaches of *St. Venant* being very difficult, they could not break Ground before that Place till the 16th; but the Attack was carried on with ſo much Vigour, that on the 29th the Garriſon beat a Parley, and the next Day delivered up a Gate. They marched out with Arms and Baggage, and other Marks of Honour, but no Cannon, and were conducted to *Arras*. The Sieur *Bruyn*, one of the Engineers of the States, who had the Direction of the Siege, was made Governor of the Place.

St. Venant *Capitulates.*

A Convoy of the Allies ſurpriſed.

As the Allies were obliged to get their Proviſions and Ammunition from *Liſle*, *Tournay*, and *Ghent*, the Enemy reſolved to ſurpriſe a Convoy of ſeveral Boats coming up the *Lys* from the laſt Place, with a Guard of 1200 Men, who were to be re-inforced by another Detachment. Accordingly M. *Ravignan*, with 4000 Men from *Ypres*, attacked them the 19th of *September* at *St. Eloy Vive*, not far from *Courtray*; beat the Guard, killed about 200 Men, took 600 Priſoners, blew up ſome Boats laden

laden with Ammunition, ſunk ſome others laden with Cannon-Ball and Bomb-Shells, to interrupt the Navigation of the *Lys*, and then retired with ſo much Diligence and Precaution, that a Detachment of the Allies, which was ſent to cut off his Retreat, could not effect it. The Priſoners, being exchanged, were ſent back from *Ypres* to their reſpective Regiments: And, to prevent the like Attempt for the future, 22 Squadrons and 9 Battalions marched to encamp at *St. Eloy Vive*; and the Country People were ſummoned to weigh up the Boats laden with Bomb-Shells and Balls, and clear the Paſſage of the *Lys*. Another Detachment of 1500 Horſe and 1000 Foot marched to *Warneton*, to ſecure the Convoys from *Liſle*. 1710

This Siege was carried on with ſome Succeſs; and the Beſiegers attacking a Redoubt on the Right, they took it with little Reſiſtance and Loſs. The Enemy ſent a Body of Troops to ſuſtain it, and a great many Officers, who were then at Dinner with M. *Goeſbriant* Governor of the Place, came out with them as Voluntiers: But as they paſſed under the Beſiegers Batteries and Parallels, the greateſt Part of them were either killed or wounded, and a Colonel of Dragoons taken Priſoner. Some Nights after, the Enemy ſallied out with 400 Fuſileers and 200 Workmen; but were repulſed with the Loſs of 40 Men killed on the Spot, and did no manner of Damage. The ſame Day there happened a vigorous Skirmiſh near the Village of *Rebeck*, on the Banks of the *Lys*. The Enemy advanced with a 1000 Horſe, to beat up the Quarters of the Confederate General-Officers on the Right, and were ſo warmly received by the Guard that covered them, that the Piquet having had time to come up to their Aſſiſtance, 450 of them were killed on the Spot, and 12 Officers, with 220 Troopers, all mounted, taken Priſoners. The Allies took, beſides, 300 Horſes without any

The French worſted in two Skirmiſhes.

1710 other Loſs on their Side than of 40 Men killed or wounded.

A Deſign on Fort Scarpe *fruſtrated.*

On the 26th, the Chevalier *de Luxemburg* deſigned to ſurpriſe *Fort Scarpe*, and in order thereto marched from *Bouchain* with a ſtrong Detachment to *Pont à Rache*, ſent 100 Men in the Night into the Wood of *Belleſonties*, near the Fort, and had two Waggons loaded with Hay, in which were hid ſome Grenadiers. Theſe Waggons were driven by ſome other Soldiers diſguiſed as Boors, who were to ſeize the Barrier, and, upon a Signal, to be ſupported by the others, and then by M. *de Luxemburg* himſelf. But Major-General *Ammama* coming at the ſame time to viſit General *Hompeſch*, (who, having ſome Suſpicion of the Deſign of the Enemy was gone into the Fort to give the neceſſary Orders for its Security) left his Guard without the Barrier. Theſe Men walking their Horſes. and following the Waggons by meer Chance, the Enemy believed they were diſcovered, and ſo ran away, leaving the Captain and one of their Men Priſoners.

The Siege of *Aire* continued much longer than had been expected; the Badneſs of the Weather, the Situation of the Place, and the advanced Seaſon of the Year, all contributing to retard the Progreſs of it. The only Way the Beſiegers had to advance, was by the Sap and Bridges; and theſe was every Day liable to be ruined by Sallies from the Garriſon. At laſt, on the 8th of *November*, when the Saps were all joined, and the Bridges to the Breaches in the Baſtion and Curtain on the Side of *Lambré* were almoſt finiſhed, the Beſiegers were prevented from proceeding to a Storm by the Governor's beating the Chamade between five and ſix in the Evening, and deſiring to capitulate. The Hoſtages were exchanged about Ten, and conſiſted on each Side of a Brigadier, a Colonel, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and a Major. Thoſe of the *French* came to the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Quarters, where

Aire *capitulates.*

where the Capitulation was ſigned the 9th in the Evening, by which the Town and the Fort *St. Francis* were delivered up to the Allies, and a Gate of each was put into their Poſſeſſion the ſame Night. The Subſtance of the Articles was, 1710

" That the Gate of *Arras* ſhould immediately, " upon ſigning the Articles, be delivered up to " the Allies: That all Acts of Hoſtility ſhould " ceaſe, and Care be taken to prevent any Diſ- " orders from the Officers or Soldiers on the one " Side or the other: That the Garriſon ſhould " march out the 11th, with the uſual Marks of " Honour, and be conducted to *St. Omer*: That " ſo many as deſired it ſhould have three Months " Time allowed them to remain in the City, and " diſpoſe of their Effects: That the Sick and " Wounded ſhould remain in the Town till their " Recovery: That Deſerters ſhould be delivered " up, and Priſoners exchanged: And that a faith- " ful Diſcovery ſhould be made of all the Mines, " and the Keys of the Magazines ſhould be deli- " vered up to the Allies."

Is deliver-ed up.

The Garriſon, upon the Sollicitation of the Governor, obtained a Day more than was agreed to by the Capitulation, to provide Carriages and other Neceſſaries. The whole Body conſiſted of 15 Battalions of Foot, and 3 Squadrons of Dragoons, amounting to no more than 3628 Men; their Numbers having been much diminiſhed by the Loſſes they ſuſtained during the Siege; and there being, beſides thoſe that were killed, above 1500 Wounded left behind. As ſoon as the Enemy had evacuated the Town, the Count *de Naſſau Woudenbourg*, who had been nominated the Governor, marched in with 8 Battalions, appointed for the Winter Garriſon, and Detachments were immediately ordered to clear the Breaches, and work upon ſuch other Reparations as were moſt neceſſary. As ſoon as the Troops that had been employed in levelling the Approaches, had

1710 finiſhed their Works, the Diſpoſitions were made for the Winter Quarters.

The Generals repair to their reſpective Courts.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* arrived at the *Hague* the 28th of *November*, and the nextDay were ſeperately complimented by all the Foreign Miniſters and other Perſons of Note, Theſe Compliments being over, their Highneſſes, with the Count *de Zinzendorf* and the Lord *Townſend*, had ſeveral Conferences with theDeputies of the States-General, to concert the Number of Forces to be ſent to the Aſſiſtance of King *Charles*, and the Time of their Departure. Prince *Eugene* then ſet out for *Vienna*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* for *England*, where he arrived the 28th of *December*.

The Duke of Marlborough *ill treated at home.*

But notwithſtanding that his Grace had been highly complimented abroad, he found, at his Return, nothing but Ill-Fortune at home. There had been an entire Change in the *Britiſh* Miniſtry, the Motives and Manner of which I ſhall not relate, as it would be fretting thoſe National Sores which are yet but too imperfectly healed. The Conſequences of this Alteration, however, were, that his * Dutcheſs, and other great Perſons, whoſe Friendſhip was very dear to him, were diſmiſſed from their Places; that the new Elections ran againſt his Friends; that his Grace was daily reproached by *Examiners*, *Poſt-Boys*, and other publick Libels, for Ingratitude, and Attempts to be a General for Life; and he received Orders to diſcard ſome General Officers for ſpeaking certain raſh Words, taken to be too partial in his Cauſe: Nevertheleſs, he obeyed theſe Orders with all imaginable Regard.

It was otherwiſe however with the Citizens of *London* than with the new Courtiers, His Grace was uſhered into thatCity by the joyful Acclamations of Multitudes of the People with lighted Flambeaux:

* *Churchill*'s Annals.

Flambeaux: But, as he never courted Popularity, he ordered his Coachman to drive to *Montague-Houſe*; from whence, after an Hour or two's Reſt, he went out at a private Door, without any Attendants, to *St. James*'s Palace, where he immediately waited upon the Queen, who received him with all the outward Marks of an entire Confidence and Satisfaction. The great Officers of State paid him their Compliments next Morning; and, among others, Mr. *Harley*, the very Perſon who had the greateſt Share in the new Favours of the Court. 1710

Yet outwardly careſſed.

In the mean time, the Uncertainty whether the Duke would be continued in the Command caſt a great Damp upon the Publick Credit; ſo that the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens wiſhed, that in order to remove that Doubt, one or both Houſes of Parliament would honour his Grace with their Thanks: But his Friends in the Houſe of Lords having been already diſappointed in a Motion for that Purpoſe, did not care to attempt it again; and thoſe his Grace had among the Commons, thinking themſelves too few, declined it till a better Opportunity. This made many apprehend, that the Duke would gratify his Diſguſt, and reſign his Commiſſion, with all his other Offices; but his Grace, having promiſed the States-General not to abandon the Common Cauſe, concerted Meaſures as frankly with the New Miniſtry as he had done with the Old; and ſince his Ducheſs had incurred the Queen's Diſpleaſure, he voluntarily ſurrendered all her Places; which was ſo acceptable to her Majeſty, that ſhe renewed his Commiſſion, and made a Diſpoſition of the other Generals to his entire Satisfaction.

Publick Credit ſinks; on his Account.

His Commiſſion renewed.

But, before I return again to the *Netherlands*, I muſt, according to my Cuſtom, take a ſhort Retroſpect of the State of Things elſewhere, at the End of the laſt Campaign. Beſides the great Advantages obtained by the Duke of *Marlborough*, the

1710 the Succeſs of the Arms of the Allies in *Spain* deſerves to be particularly conſider'd, and the more, becauſe in the Beginning of the Campaign there was litttle Cauſe to entertain any Hopes on that Side, thro' the Superiority of the Enemy in Cavalry; but rather Reaſon to fear the Loſs of *Balaguer*, a Place of great Importance at that Time to King *Charles*. The Enemy advanced to attack it; but the Allies, tho' much inferior in Number, obliged them to give over that Deſign; and ſhortly after, when they advanced again to attack the Allies in their Camp near that Place, they were once more obliged to retire. Some Time after, King *Charles*, having been reinforced with a good Body of Troops from *Italy*, which in their Way diſappointed the Enterpriſe of the Enemy againſt *Sardinia*, overtook the Rear of the *French* Army near *Almenara*, and cauſed their Cavalry to be attacked with ſo much Bravery, that, tho' they were much ſuperior in Number, they retired in Confuſion under *Lerida*, as did the reſt of their Army. This Advantage was ſoon after followed by the memorable Battle of *Sarragoſſa*, whereby the Duke of *Anjou* loſt great part of his Army, and was forced to retire into *Old Caſtile*, leaving to King *Charles* the Seat of the Kingdom, *Arragin*, and the other Provinces on both Sides the *Tagus*, the moſt fruitful Part of *Spain*; by Means of which Conqueſts, the Communication of the Enemy by Land with *Andaluſia*, *Murcia*, *Granada* and *Valencia*, was cut off.

The Campaign in Spain.

Places ſtill poſſeſſed by the Enemy.

Notwithſtanding this ſignal Succeſs, the Enemy was ſtill poſſeſſed of ſome *Spaniſh* Places upon the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*, which have been always thought neceſſary for preſerving the Communication between *Spain* and its Dominions in *Italy*. They were ſtill Maſters of *Sicily*, the Dutchy of *Savoy*, and the County of *Nice*. The Duke of *Anjou* was in Poſſeſſion of a great Part of *Spain* itſelf, ſo that that Kingdom, as it were, was torn in Pieces and divided,

divided. The Sea-Ports were ſtill in the Power of *France*, with all the *Spaniſh Indies*. The *Upper Rhine*, from *Huninghen* to the *Queiſch*, *Briſac* and Fort *Kehl*, beſides the City of *Straſburg*, juſtly eſteemed the Bulwark of the Empire, were all ſtill in the Hands of *Lewis* XIV. This was thought ſufficient Cauſe for continuing the War with new Vigour: Nor did the King of *France* this Winter make any publick Propoſals of Peace, tho' his Miniſters were dealing underhand with the new Miniſtry of *Great-Britain*. In the mean time, the States-General received a Letter from the *Britiſh* Queen, wherein her Majeſty encouraged them to exert their utmoſt Efforts for aſſiſting the King of *Spain*, and carrying on the War with more Vigour than ever; aſſuring them, at the ſame Time, that nothing ſhould be omitted on her Part to bring this great Work to its Concluſion. Their High-Mightineſſes, in Return, ſignified that they were fully reſolved to follow the Example of her Majeſty; but, as it was but reaſonable, that all the Members of the Grand Alliance ſhould do the ſame, they were reſolved to write Letters to the Dyet at *Ratiſbon*, to the Directors of the Circles, and the Electors and Princes of the Empire, to exhort them to take better Meaſures than in the preceding Years, for forming an Army on the *Upper Rhine*, and putting it in a Condition to ſecond the Efforts of their Allies. Theſe Letters were accordingly ſent with all Expedition. 1710

The Allies reſolves to continue War.

All Things were preparing early on both Sides for Opening the Campaign: but the Seaſon being very backward, the Troops did not leave their Quarters ſo ſoon as it was intended. Mean time the Allies provided large Magazines of dry Forage and made other Diſpoſitions to take the Field before the *French*, who on their Parts uſed all poſſible Application to diſſapoint the Deſigns of the Allies. As the Queen was pleaſed, upon the preſſ- 1711

ing

1711 ing Instances of the States-General, to send the Duke of *Marlborough* over to *Holland* betimes, his Grace arrived there the 4th of *March*, to the great Satisfaction of the States, and all the Ministers of the Allies, who wanted his Presence and Council in several weighty Affairs. Accordingly he was daily in Conference with the Deputies of the States, to concert the Operations of War: And in order to prevent the Enemy, and be in the Field before them, it was resolved to have a great Body, consisting of Detachments of all the Garrisons, cantoned along the *Scarpe* and the Canal of *Douay*. These Detachments were from Time to Time reinforced by others; but such Care was taken to conceal their Number, that the Enemy could have no Account of it.

The Duke goes to Holland.

* Prince *Eugene* was detained in *Germany* much longer than he expected, (being stopped at *Nuremberg* by the Advice of the Emperor's Death) and the Time of Opening the Campaign drawing nigh the Duke of *Marlborough*, without waiting the Arrival of his Colleague, took his Leave of the States and set out for the *Hague* the 23 of *April*. He embarked the same Day at *Streyn-Sas*, on board a Yacht of the States, which conducted him to *Ghent* where he arrived the 25th, and the next Day at *Tournay*, near which Place the Troops were encamped in several Bodies. His Grace having held a Council of War with the Generals and Deputies of the States, it was resolved that those Bodies should join and form the Army. This was done accordingly the 30th, and the Army encamped the Right on the *Marc* and the Left on the *Scarpe*, the Town of *Orchies* being in the Center, where the Duke took his Quarters. Upon these Motions the *French* drew likewise together, and encamped behind the *Senset*, the Right to *Oisy*, and the Left to *Mouchy le Procuse*, having diverted the Course

Joines the Army.

of

* Mercure Historique & Politique, pour l'An. 1711.

of the *Scarpe* at *Bloche*; whereby that River fell into the *Senſet*, and rendered their Camp altogether inacceſſible on the Left and in the Front, while their Flank was covered by the *Scheld*, 1711

The Duke of *Marlborough* decamped the 1ſt of *May*, and the Army having paſſed the *Scarpe*, partly at *Pont à Rache*, and partly at *Marchienne*, encamped all along the Road from *Doway* to *Valenciennes*, the Left to *Sommain*, and the Right to *Goulezin*. But nothing material happened except that on the 9th 3000 *French*, detached from *Valenciennes* and *Condé*, attacked at *Tuns*, between *St. Amand* and *Mortagne*, a Convoy of 45 Boats, laden with Hay and Oats for the Confederate Army, which was ſet out from *Tournay*, under a Guard of 2 Battalions commanded by Brigadier *Chambrier*. The Action was very hot; and, notwithſtanding the vigorous Reſiſtance of the Guard, the Enemy burnt 12 Boat.: But the Garriſon of *St. Amand* coming to the Aſſiſtance of the Guard, the *French* retired, having had about 100 Men killed and wounded; the Loſs on the Side of the Allies being near the ſame. Mean while, the Prince of *Savoy* arrived at *Ghent* from the *Hague*, whether he came the 5th of the ſame Month. *A Convoy attacked by the* French

On the 14th of *June* the Confederate Armies decamped, and that under the Duke of *Marlborough*, having paſſed the Canal of *Arleux* and the *Scarpe* in Sight of the Enemy, encamped in the Plain of *Lens*. Hereupon Marſhal *Villars* marched from his Camp behind the *Senſet*, and encamped with his Front every where covered by the *Scarpe*, and *Arras* in the Center. The Army of Prince *Eugene* having paſſed the *Scarpe* below *Doway* marched to *Orchies*. from whence the *Danes*, *Saxons*, and *Heſſians* rejoined the Army of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Imperialiſts and *Palatines*, conſiſting of 50 Squadrons and 12 Battalions, *Motions of the Armies.*

1711 Battalions, marched towards *Bruſſels*, in order to proceed to the *Upper Rhine*, to reinforce the Imperial Army, and put it in a Condition to oppoſe the *French*, who had ſtrengthened their Troops on that Side with two Detachments from the Army, of M. *de Villars*, and ſome other Troops.

Reports were now given out by the Enemy, that M. *de Villars* would attack the Allies; and, to render them more credible, he aſſembled all his Forces behind his Lines, and laid Bridges over the *Scarpe*. He made no Motion, however, that tended to any Engagement, but on the contrary continued in his former Camp, and fortified his Lines with ſeveral new Redoubts. The 19th, he made a Detachment of Grenadiers, ſuſtained by 400 Huſſars, with a Deſign to ſurpriſe a Poſt the Allies had taken at the Convent of *Winy*: But Colonel *Chomley* of the *Britiſh* Guards, who commanded 300 Men there, gave the Enemy ſo warm a Reception, that they retired upon the firſt Fire, leaving a Captain of Grenadiers and ſeveral other Men killed on the Spot. The 22d, a Major, with 100 Dragoons and as many Huſſars, advanced to the Banks of the *Scarpe* over-againſt the Enemy's Camp, where they had laid ſome Bridges for the Paſſage of their Patroles; and, having left the greateſt Part of his Detachment at ſome Diſtance from the River, advanced with the reſt to ſhew themſelves to the Enemy, who taking the Alarm, ſent 300 Huſſars to purſue his Men. The Major retreated ſlowly towards the Place where he had left his main Body, and then charged the Enemy with ſo much Vigour, that they killed 40 of them, took 2 Captains, a Cornet, and 17 other Priſoners. There happened ſeveral other Skirmiſhes during the Vicinity of the two Armies, in which the Allies had generally the Advantage, but which we think it immaterial to relate, in order to paſs to ſomething more important, the getting

Detachments of the Enemy defeated.

into

into the Lines of the *French*, which M. *de Villars* called the *Ne plus ultra* of the Allies. 1711

On the 4th of *Auguſt*, by Break of Day, the Duke of *Marlborough* marched from the Camp of *Villars Brulin*, with a Detachment of 2000 Horſe, and the greateſt Part of the Grenadiers, to the Mill of *Givency le Noble*, to take a View of the Lines of the Enemy, and the Situation of their Camp. The Lines appeared very ſtrong and well fortified, and guarded by all the Troops that M. *de Villars* had been able to draw together upon the Motion of the Allies that Way. His Grace being returned to his Camp, made the neceſſary Diſpoſition to march back towards the *Senſet*, in order to get into the Enemy's Lines, which had been all along his Deſign, and the Reaſon which obliged him to march from *Cotte* to *Villars Brulin*, that the Enemy drawing their Forces that Way, he might have an Opportunity to put his Project in Execution. In order thereto General *Hompeſch* was ſent to *Doway*, and was followed by the Lieutenant-Generals *Cadogan* and *Murray*, with Orders to draw out the Troops of that Garriſon, and aſſemble ſome others, which upon Pretences had been detached from *Liſle* and other Parts, making in all 23 Battalions and 17 Squadrons. With theſe the Generals were ordered to march to *Arleux* and *Baca Bacheul*, and poſt themſelves on the other Side of the *Senſet*, there to continue till the Army came up to ſuſtain them. This and other neceſſary Diſpoſitions being made, Brigadier *Sutton* marched with the Artillery and Pontons, 4 Battalions, and 350 Horſe, with Orders to lay Bridges on the *Scarpe* near *Vitry*, and on the Canal of *Arleux* about *Goulezin*. At 9 in the Evening the whole Army marched in 8 Columns. The Duke of *Marlborough*, with the Horſe of the Left Wing, marched before, being followed by the reſt of the Army with a great deal of Alacrity.

The Duke views the Enemies Lines.

At

1711 At 5 the next Morning, his Grace passed the *Scarpe* at *Vitry*, where he received Advice that the Detachment under General *Hompesch* had repaired the Bridges the Enemy had broken down about *Arleux*, so that he could pass the *Senset*, without Opposition, and take Post about *Oisy*. Whereupon the Duke sent Orders to the Army to continue their March with all Expedition, advanced with his Cavalry to *Arleux*, to support the Detachment, and drew up his Troops in Order of Battle on the opposite Side the *Senset*, as fast as they passed that River. Marshal *Villars*, who had been informed of this March, advanced with the Head of his Line of Horse, consisting of the Troops of the Houshold, in Hopes to hinder the Duke's Passing the *Senset*. He appeared in Sight of the Allies at 11 o'Clock, and passed the Defile of *Marquion* with 20 Squadrons: But the Duke of *Marlborough* marching to attack him with the Cavalry that he had drawn up, the Enemy retired through the Defile, and encamped behind it where he was joined by the rest of his Forces, and in the mean time detached the Chevaleir *de Luxemburg*, with two Regiments of Dragoons, to throw himfelf into *Valenciennes*, and sent a Brigade of Foot to *Cambray*. He left 100 Dragoons and 8 Officers in the Castle of *Oisy*, who surrendered Prisoners of War. Mean time the Army came up, and, notwithstanding a March of 10 Leagues without halting, were drawn up in Order of Battle as they arrived, because the Enemy gave out, that they would attack them the next Morning. It was expected that they would be as good as their Word; but they had posted themselves behind the Moras of *Inchi*, where it was impossible to come at them; so that the Allies continued in the same Post, while 6 Battalions were detached to secure the Bridges the Enemy had abandoned. The same Day advice came, that the Enemy were in Motion to pass the *Scheld* at *Crevecoeur*, and post themselves

He passes the Senset.

1711

ſelves between *Cambray* and *Bouchain*, to prevent the Siege of the latter Place: Whereupon General *Roſs*, the Earl of *Athlone*, and the Major-Generals *Groveſtein*, and *St. Laurent*, were commanded with 40 Squadrons to endeavour to fall on their Rear; but being advanced about half a League, they diſcovered the main Body of the *French* Army, from which they were ſeparated by a Sort of Moraſs. The Duke of *Marlborough*, then held a Council of War with the Generals of the Army and the Deputies of the States; wherein it was propoſed, whether they ſhould attack the Enemy, or immediately paſs the *Scheld*. The latter reſolved upon, leſt the Enemy, having paſſed that River, ſhould hinder the Allies from paſſing it between *Cambray* and *Bouchain*, and conſequently prevent the Siege.

Accordingly the Army paſſed the *Scheld*, at *Eſtreum*, and General *Roſs*, with his Detachment, was left to bring up the Rear, and ſecure the Artillery and light Baggage. The 7th, about Eight in the Morning, all the Troops were got over without any Diſturbance from the Enemy, and encamped the Right to *Juvy* on the *Scheld*, about half way between *Bouchain* and *Cambray*, and the Left to *Neufville* on the ſame River below *Bouchain*, making a ſort of Demi-circle about that Place. The ſame Day the Enemy having made a Motion, Marſhal *Villars* cauſed a Battery to be erected on the Hills near *St. Martin*, from whence they fired upon the Village where the Confederate Generals of the Right Wing had their Quarters, but without any Effect. That Day their Right Wing continued in Sight of the Allies, being parted by the *Scheld*. Mean while the Allies began to lay Bridges below *Bouchain* at *Neufville*, to open a Communication with *Doway*, and other Places on the *Scarpe*, from whence they were to receive their Proviſions and Ammunition, and alſo for the Paſſage of the Troops to be employed in the

And the Scheld.

1711 the Siege of *Bouchain*. Next Day the Brigadier *Voorſt*, with 1000 Horſe, was ſent to meet the Bread-Waggons from *Doway*; and upon Advice that the Enemy had ſent over the *Senſet* a great Detachment, to intercept theſe Waggons and the Artillery from *Pont à Rache*, my Lord Duke paſſed the *Scheld* with the Left Wing of the Horſe, and took Poſt at the Hill of *Vignonete*, where he continued till the Convoy was ſafely arrived at *Neufville*. Then the Right repaſſed the River at that Place, and returned to the Camp. The 9th in the Morning Lieutenant-General *Wood*, with 2000 Horſe, was detached to *Marchienne* to convoy the heavy Baggage, which he brought ſafe to the Camp. The ſame Day the Siege of *Bouchain* being reſolved upon, 30 Battalions and 12 Squadrons were appointed for that Service, under the Command of General *Fagel*.

Bouchain *inveſted.*

The 10th, the Troops deſigned for the Siege marched to inveſt the Place, and General *Bulau* was detached with 40 Squadrons from the Right, and paſſed the *Scheld* at *Neufville*, to continue there till the Circumvallation was perfected. My Lord Duke went in Perſon with that Detachment, very early in the Morning, to view the Approaches of *Bouchain*, and ordered the Lines of Circumvallation to be made. But upon Advice, that the *French* Army had paſſed the *Scheld*, as if they would attack him, his Grace returned to the Camp, cauſed the Troops to take up Arms, and advanced towards the Enemy. The Armies came very near; but it was impoſſible to come to any Action, by reaſon of the difficult Hollow ways and Defiles, whereby they were parted. The Enemy returned in the Evening to their Camp, and the Allies to theirs; but for preventing any further Alarm, my Lord Duke ordered ſeveral Lunettes and Redoubts to be made in the Front of his Camp, which might be joined by Lines in caſe of Need.

I ſhall

I ſhall not enter on a Detail of the Manner of carrying on a Siege, in order to relate what paſſed before *Bouchain*, where nothing happened peculiarly remarkable. It is ſufficient to ſay, that on the 11th of *September* the Beſieged, ſeeing the Breaches at the two Attacks againſt the Upper Town were very wide, and that all Things were preparing for a general Storm, they thought fit to prevent it by a Capitulation; and having beat a Parley the next Day about Noon. they ſent Hoſtages at all the Attacks, and the Allies ſent others in Return. The Hoſtages for the Upper Town were conducted to the Quarters of General *Fagel*, where the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Deputies of the States, and ſeveral other Generals repaired; and his Grace having held a Council, the *French* Hoſtages were called in. But when they offered to deliver their Articles, my Lord Duke told them "That he would not have them read; and ſince "they had waited to the laſt Extremity, they had "no other Terms to expect, than to be Priſoners "of War;" ordering them "to acquaint their "Commander with it, and ſend back their Ho-"ſtages if they would not accept this Condition." The Hoſtages being returned into the Town, the Governor would not ſurrender upon thoſe Terms, and ſo the Hoſtilities began again with ſuch a terrible Fire, that ſoon after they hung out white Flags at all the Attacks, and beat a Parley a ſecond Time.

1711

The Garriſon propoſe Conditions, which are rejected.

New Hoſtages being exchanged, they propoſed to ſurrender Priſoners of War, upon Condition they ſhould march out with all the Marks of Honour, and be conducted into *France*, where they would do no manner of Service till they were exchanged. This Demand being rejected, the Governor agreed at laſt to ſurrender upon the Terms propoſed by the Duke; but this Debate taking up much Time the Allies were not in Poſſeſſion of one of the Gates till the 13th in the Morning. The 14th, the Garriſon having delivered 24 Colours,

They ſurrender Priſoners of War.

1711 lours, and all their Arms, marched out, and the Soldiers were conducted to *Marchienne*, in order to be sent to *Holland*; but the Officers continued in *Bouchain* till further Instructions. Major-General *Grovestein*, being appointed Governor of the Place, took Possession of it with a Detachment of Troops. The Garrison, which consisted at first of 8 compleat Battalions, 600 *Swissers*, and some Dragoons, lost a great many Men in the Defence of the Place being reduced to 2 Major Generals, 2 Brigadiers, 8 Colonels, 4 Lieutenant-Colonels, 3 Majors, 76 Captains, 83 Lieutenants, 51 Under-Lieutenants, and 2717 private Men. The Governor pretended, that he was in a Condition to defend himself some Days longer, but that the Soldiers, seeing that Marshal *Villars* did not attempt to relieve the Place, as he had promised, forced him to capitulate. It was thought surprising indeed, that that General, having a superior Army to his Grace, suffered this important Place to be taken under his Nose, without making any real Effort, to relieve it: But he might have excused himself upon the Precautions of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had taken such Measures to put this glorious Enterprise in Execution, that M. *de Villars* foresaw, that if he offered to attack him, he should lose most of his Army, as well as the Town.

Encomium on the Campaign.

The Success of this Siege, so difficult in all its Circumstances, so encouraged the Confederate Troops, that they never expressed more Eagerness for Action. His Grace's Stratagem in passing the Enemies Lines without the Loss of a Man, his cutting of the Communication of the Enemy with *Bouchain*, the Manner of his investing the Town with an inferior Army, the casting up Lines, making Regular Forts, raising Batteries, laying Bridges over a River, making passable a Morass, and providing for the Security of Convoys against a superior Army on one Side, and the numerous Garrison of *Condé* and *Valenciennes* on the other,

shewed

ſhewed the unparellel'd Conduct of that great General; and his forcing a ſtrong Garriſon to deliver up ſo important a Place, and ſurrender Priſoners of War, was returning to the Purpoſe the *Ne plus ultra* of M. *de Villars* upon him and his 100,000 Men. That General had formed a Project to ſurpriſe *Aire*, and M. *de Goeſbriant* marched with the Garriſon of *St. Omer*, and ſome other Troops, for that Purpoſe; but had the ſame Succeſs as M. *Albergotti* had much about the ſame time upon *Doway*, which he was likewiſe to ſurpriſe: So that thoſe two Generals miſcarried in the Deſign they had to regain their former Governments. 1711

The *French* were ſo mortified at the Loſs of *Bouchain*, that M. *de Ravignan*, the *French* Governor of that Town, and the other Principal Officers of the Garriſon, having repreſented to the *French* Court, that the Conditions promiſed them during the Parley were not made good to them, and inſiſting they were only to be deemed Priſoners to be conducted home, and to be accounted for in future Exchanges; their Repreſentation was tranſmitted to the Duke of *Marlborough* by Marſhal *Villars*. But his Grace, in Anſwer to it, returned him Atteſtations ſigned by General *Fagel*, who commanded the Siege, and Colonel *Pagneis*, one of his Hoſtages, who they pretended had made them that Offer in the Name of M. *Fagel*; by which it plainly appeared that their Complaint was altogether groundleſs, and that they never had the leaſt Encouragement given them to hope for any other Conditions than to be made Priſoners of War. *Bouchain* *ſon of* *complain of* *the Breach* *of Articles.*

It was given out after this Siege, that the Earl of *Albemale* having been diſpatched to the *Hague*, to communicate to the States the Condition of the Army, and the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Opinion on the further Operations of the Campaign, their High Mightineſſes were ſenſible, that no other *The Allies* *reſolve to* *undertake* *no other* *Enterpriſe.*

Siege

1711 Siege ought to be undertaken, becauſe the Enemy had deſtroyed the Country about *Queſnoy*, *Valenciennes*, and other Places, ſo that the Army would not be able to ſubſiſt; and beſides, that the Seaſon was ſo far ſpent, that People ought not to expect a long Continuation of fair Weather. But the truth was ſaid to be, that his Grace had in all probability taken *Queſnoy* the ſame Summer; only the *Dutch*, being alarmed by ſome Propoſals of Peace made by the *French* at the *Britiſh* Court, would not conſent to it; ſo that his Grace returned to the *Hague*, where he was received with the uſual Tokens of Joy and Gratitude by the States-General, and their Subjects; while in *England* the Writer of the *Poſt-Boy* was commanded by Men of no ſmall Authority, to re-print what the *French* had before ſaid, that *Bouchain* was no better than a Pigeon-Houſe, and that it coſt the Duke of *Marlborough*, 16,000 Men.

The Dutch *hinder any farther Operations.*

In the mean time the Commiſſioners of Accounts had drawn up a Charge againſt him, in order to be preſented to the Parliament: And though the Duke ſet that Matter in the trueſt Light, by a Letter which he ſent the Commiſſioners before they could make the Report, yet they made uſe of his Letter as a Proof of his Guilt; and after his Arrival at *St. James*'s, where he continued a while, to all outward Appearance, in the good Graces of the Queen and the new Miniſtry, the new Members, who had the Majority in the Houſe of Commons, voted, "That his Grace's "taking ſeveral Sums of Money yearly from the "Contractors for furniſhing the Army with Bread "and Bread-Waggons, was illegal; and that the "two and a half *per Cent.* deducted from the "foreign Troops in *Britiſh* Pay, ought to be ac-"counted for as Publick Money." In Anſwer to this, his Friends in the Houſe proved, "That the "firſt was always the General's Perquiſite: That

The Duke accuſed in Parliament.

"the

" the reſt of the confederates give the ſame Rates 1711
" for Bread as the *Engliſh*; and that the Publick
" received no Injury from that Perquiſite. They
" alſo urged, that the two and a half *per Cent.*
" was not accounted for as publick Money, be-
" cauſe allowed by the Conſent of the foreign
" Troops: That the ſecret ſervice of the Army
" could not be carried on without it, becauſe
" the uſual Allowance on that Head fell ſhort:
" That by this Means 15000 *l. per Ann.* was
" provided for carrying on that Service: That
" his Grace had the Queen's Warrant, and the
" Conſent of the Troops, for ſuch Deduction:
" That all the Sums received on that Account
" had been employed in ſecret Services for the
" Army, and that without thoſe Sums the Ex-
" pence of ſo many early and long Campaigns,
" great Battles and Sieges, could not have been
" carried on; ſo that they thought his Grace
" rather deſerved the Thanks of the Houſe for
" his good Huſbandry, than their Cenſure for
" Miſmanagement, ſince he had not only appli-
" ed the 10,000*l.* yearly allowed for the Services
" they were intended, but added 15,000*l.* a Year
" more for Intelligence." Nevertheleſs, the Majority of the Commons ordered the Attorney-General to proſecute him for what they called Publick Money, which was done accordingly ſoon after, by Information in the *Exchequer-Court*.

The 1ſt of *January*, 1712, his Grace was re- 1712
moved from all his Offices of Truſt, tho' he had
very lately aſſerted his Integrity before the Queen *Removed*
in the Houſe of Peers. Thinking himſelf reflected *from his*
on there by a noble Lord, as a Perſon that delight- *Employ-*
ed in War, he ſpoke to this Effect, (making allow *ments.*
Bow to the Place where her Majeſty ſat) " That
" he referred himſelf to her Majeſty, whether he
" had not conſtantly' while he was Plenipotenti-
" ary, given her Majeſty and her Council an Ac-
" account of all the Propoſitions that had been
" made, and had not deſired Inſtructions for his

1712 " Conduct on that Subject: That he could de-
" clare, with a good Conſcience, in the Preſence
His Apology " of her Majeſty, and that illuſtrious Aſſembly,
in the Houſe " and of God himſelf, who was infinitely ſupe-
of Peers. " rior to all the Powers of the Earth, and before
" whom, by the ordinary Courſe of Nature, he
" ſhould ſoon appear to render an Account of his
" Actions, that he ever was deſirous of a ſafe,
" honourable, and laſting Peace; and that he was
" always very far from prolonging the War for
" his own private Advantage, as ſeveral Libels
" and Diſcourſes had moſt falſly inſinuated: That
" his great Age, and the many Fatigues of War,
" made him ardently wiſh for the Power to enjoy
" a quiet Repoſe, in order for him to think of
" Eternity. As for other Matters, he had not the
" leaſt Inducement, on any Account whatſoever
" to deſire the Countinuance of the War for his
" own particular Intereſt, ſince his Services had
" been ſo generouſly rewarded, both by her Ma-
" jeſty and her Parliament: but that he thought
" himſelf obliged to ſuch an Acknowledgment to
" her Majeſty and his Country: That he was al-
" ways ready to ſerve them (whenever his Duty
" ſhould require) to obtain an honourable and
" laſting Peace; yet that he could by no Means
" give into the Meaſures that had been taken to
" enter into a Negotiation of Peace with *France*,
" upon the Foot of ſome pretended Preliminaries
" that were then handed about; ſince his Opinion
" was the ſame with that of moſt of the Allies,
" that the leaving *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to the
" Houſe of *Bourbon*, would be the entire Ruin
" of *Europe*; which he had, with all Fidelity and
" Humility, declared to her Majeſty, when he
" had the Honour to wait upon her, a little after
" his Arrival from *Holland*."

His Diſmiſſion hurts the Grand Alliance. However, his Grace acquieſced under his Diſmiſſion with all poſſible Reſignation; but it quite ſunk the Spirit that had before animated the Grand Alliance: And it is too glaring to be denied, how

the

the *French*, who dared not to look him in the Face, took Courage in his Absence, and by Cunning and Treachery recovered the Conquests which his Grace had made the two last Campaigns by his Valour and Experience. 1712

In the mean time, all Arts were used to render his Grace obnoxious at Home, and to involve him in any Thing that looked like a Design against the Government: And in particular the *Examiner*, with Impunity, if not with Encouragement, suggested that his Grace deputed the Lord *Mohun* to be the General Bully of the Faction; and it was falsly whispered, that he was privy to the Challenge sent to the Duke of *Hamilton* All which ungenerous, unchristian Treatment, made him resolve upon a voluntary Exile from his Native Country: For which having obtained a Pass, and conveyed most of his real Estate to his four Sons-in-Law, he set out for *Dover* on the 24th of *November*, and staying for the Wind, at the House of his Friend Sir *Henry Furnese*, he embarked the 30th for *Ostend*, in the *North-Britain* Pacquet-Boat. *Libelled by the Examiner.*

When his Grace landed at *Ostend*, he was saluted by a general Discharge of the Cannon from the Town, Forts and Shipping, and received by General *Cadogan* and the Governor of the Place, who conducted him to a noble Dinner at Captain *Brown*'s, through a vast Concourse of People, and the Garrison under Arms. He supped with the Governor, lay at the Burgomaster's House, and tho' he desired no Honours should be paid him; yet when he set out for *Antwerp*, he was honoured with another triple Discharge of all the Artillery of the Ramparts, and the Shipping in the Harbour. He was met without the Gates of *Antwerp* by the Governor of the Citadel, who in the Emperor's Name offered him all the Ceremonies generally paid to crowned Heads; But his Grace desired to be excused, and would have went *incognito* to his Lodgings. He was introduced however with the Noise of the Cannon, and the Acclama- *Goes Aboard.* *His Reception at Antwerp and Maestricht*

1712 tions of the People. The Governor made a handſome Collation for his Grace, and then the Duke haſtened to *Maeſtricht* by the moſt private Roads, without entering into the Towns, that had made Preparation for the Reception. But the whole Country was filled with Spectators, becauſe the Governor of *Maeſtricht* had ſent out Parties of Horſe to lie every where in the Road from thence to *Antwerp* to attend his Grace. When he arrived at *Maeſtricht*, he was ſaluted by the Cannon from the Bulwarks, and by the Garriſon drawn up under Arms, being accompanied into the Town by the Generals *Dopf* and *Cadogan*. He alighted at the Governor's Houſe, was honoured with a Guard under a Captain, Lieutenant and Enſign, and complimented by the Magiſtrates in a full Body. He went out of Town under a Diſcharge of all the Artillery, the Garriſon being drawn out, and was attended by the Generals *Dopf* and *Cadogan*, till he was out of the Territories of the States-General. Then he came to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the Peaſants flocked to ſee him; and his Levee was crowded with all the Perſons of Quality in the Town, who were unanimous in their Reſpects to his great Merit. In particular the *French* Marquis *de Leſdigueres* declared publickly, "That he had "now ſeen the Man who was equal to the Mar-"ſhal *de Turenne* in Conduct, to the Prince of "*Condé* in Courage, and ſuperior to the Marſhal "*de Luxemburg* in Succeſs.

His Reception at Antwerp *and* Maeſtricht

The Emperor gives him the Lordſhip of Guntzburg.

The ſame Year the Emperor gave him the Lordſhip of *Guntzburg*, with a great many Priviledges annexed unto it. It is a City in the Marquiſate of *Burgaw* in *Upper Suabia*, and lies upon the *Danube* between *Ulm* and *Augsburg*, about 17 Miles from *Hockſtedt*, and 13 *French* Leagues from *Mindelheim*. It has a Caſtle, which is the Seat of the Emperor's Governor.

In 1713 his Grace viſited his Principality of *Mindelheim*, and ſeveral Town of *Germany*, where he had great Honours, particularly at *Frankfort*, whoſe

whoſe Magiſtrates preſented him with a Tun of Wine. Here he had frequent Interviews with his victorious Brother the Prince *Eugene*, whom he had frequently honoured with his Company when that Prince was at *London*. 1713

It may not be improper here to obſerve, that as his Grace had the Honour to be ranked among the Princes of the Empire, ſo he was obliged (as well as the other Princes and States) to furniſh a certain Quota of Men and Money for Defence of the Empire, for what they call a *Roman Month*. And the Curious may be informed from the *Matricula* of the Empire, or Reparation of the States and Cities, according to the Conſtitution of *Charles* V, that the Quota of the Prince of *Mindelheim* is 3 Horſe, 10 Foot, and 76 Florins. When this Prince takes his Place in the College, he ſits next to the Duke of *Schwartzenburg*, and before the Counts of *Suabia*, *Wetteravia*, *Franconia*, and *Weſtphalia*. *His Rank in the Empire.*

His Grace returned to *England* in 1714, and accidentally landed at *Dover* the very Day Queen *Anne* died, who, it was thought, had an Intention to take him again into Favour. King *George* I. reſtored him to all his Dignities, and in the Office of Captain-General he was very inſtrumental, by his Orders, in ſuppreſſing the Rebellion in the North. His Grace, however, never appeared afterwards at the Head of an Army, but in a ſhort Time retired from all Buſineſs, and ſpent the Remainder of his Days at *Blenheim-Houſe*,, or ſome other of his Country-Seats. At *Windſor-Lodge*, one of thoſe Seats, he breathed his laſt, on the 16th of *June*, 1722, in the 73d Year of his Age, and was afterwards moſt pompouſly buried, at his Majeſty's Expence in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*,, on the 9th Day of *Auguſt*. *His Return to England, Re-eſtabliſhment. and Death.*

It is a difficult Taſk to draw the Character of a Man of whom Prejudice has ſtill much to ſay, nor can any Thing be added to what may be every Day heard from the Mouths either of his Friends or Enemies. But ſo many indiſputable great Qua-

1722 lities were conſpicuous in the Duke of *Marlborough*, that all agree he was one of the firſt Men of the Age. In Perſon he was tall and handſome, of a noble and graceful Appearance, with a very obliging Addreſs. He had a wonderful Preſence of Mind, ſo as hardly ever to be diſcompoſed. Bred up in a Court, he knew the Art of living in it beyond any Man. He had no great Literature, but was bleſſed with a very clear Head, a Penetration that ſcarce any Thing could eſcape, and a ſolid and ſound Judgment. As he ſeldom fail'd of Succeſs in any Thing he undertook, ſo he was never daunted for Want of it whenever diſappointed. Equally able both to contrive and execute, he was always an Over-match to the Generals that were ſent againſt him. Laborious and vigilant, he truſted nothing to others that became himſelf to perform. The Duke of *Vendome*, by much the greateſt General *France* then had, could only boaſt that he was but once beaten in two Campaigns, and that he protracted, but could not raiſe, the Siege of *Liſle*. This indeed was a great Matter, when he had to deal with the Duke of *Marlborough*, whoſe March to the *Danube*, and Reduction of *Bavaria*, was his own Contrivance, and executed with a Bravery hardly to be parallel'd in Hiſtory.

But I have given ſo many Sketches of our Hero's Perſon and Mind, in different Parts of this Work, that it would be needleſs to add any farther Idea of him here, beſides what may be drawn from his immortal Actions, thoſe moſt inconteſtable Characteriſticks of true Merit. Nor can theſe be ſummed up with greater Strength, and at the ſame time Simplicity, than in the Monumental Inſcription engraved on the Pillar in Blenheim-Park, and compoſed, as ſome ſay, by a Gentleman in the oppoſite Intereſt, whoſe Pen could have no other Guide but an impartial Love of Truth.

The MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION, &c.

The Caſtle of *Blenheim* was founded by Q. *Anne*,
In the fourth Year of her Reign;
In the Year of the Chriſtian *Æra* 1705;
A Monument deſign'd to perpetuate the Memory of the ſignal Victory Obtain'd over the *French* and *Bavarians*,
Near the Village of *Blenheim*,
On the Banks of the *Danube*,
By *John* Duke of *Marlborough*;
The Hero not only of his Nation, but of his Age;
Whoſe Glory was equal in the Council and in the Field;
Who by Wiſdom, Juſtice, Candour and Addreſs,
Reconciled various, and even oppoſite Intereſts;
Acquired an Influence, which no Rank, no Authority can give.
Nor any Force but that of ſuperior Virtue;
Became the fixed important Center,
Which united in one common Cauſe
The principal States of *Europe*;
Who by military Knowledge, and irreſiſtible Valour,
In a long Series of uninterrupted Triumphs,
Broke the Power of *France*.
When raiſed the higheſt, when exerted the moſt;
Reſcued the *Empire* from Deſolation;
Aſſerted and confirmed the Liberties of *Europe*.

Philip, a Grandſon of the Houſe of *France*, united to the Intereſts, directed by the Policy, ſupported by the Arms of that Crown, was placed on the Throne of *Spain*. King *William* the Third beheld this formidable Union of too great and once rival, Monarchies. At the End of a Life ſpent in defending the Liberties of *Europe*, he ſaw them in their greateſt Danger. He provided for their Security, in the moſt effectual Manner. He took the Duke of *Marlborough* into his Service.

Embaſſador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
To the States-General of the United Provinces,

The Duke contracted ſeveral Alliances before the Death of King *William*. He confirmed and improved theſe. He contracted others, after the Acceſſion of Q. *Anne*; and reunited the Confederacy, which had been diſſolved at the End of a former War, in a ſtricter and firmer League.

Captain General and Commander in Chief
Of the Forces of *Great Britain*, The

The Duke led to the Field the Army of the Allies.

He took with ſurpriſing Rapidity *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*, *Stevenſwaert*, *Liege*. He extended and ſecured the Frontiers of the *Dutch*. The Enemies, whom he found inſulting at the Gates of *Nimeguen*, were driven to ſeek for Shelter behind their Lines. He forced *Bonne*, *Huy*, *Limbourg*, in another Campaign. He opened the Communication of the *Rhine* as well as the *Maes*. He added all the Country between theſe Rivers to his former Conqueſts. The Arms of *France*, favoured by the Defection of the Elector of *Bavaria*, had penetrated into the Heart of the Empire. This mighty Body lay expoſed to immediate Ruin. In that memorable Criſis, the Duke of *Marlborough* led his Troops with unexampled Celerity, Secrecy, Order, from the Ocean to the *Danube*. He ſaw; he attacked; nor ſtopped, but to conquer the Enemy. He forced the *Bavarians*, ſuſtained by the *French*, in their ſtrong Intrenchments at *Schellenberg*. He paſſed the *Danube*. A ſecond royal Army, compoſed of the beſt Troops of *France*, was ſent to re-inforce the firſt. That the Confederates was divided. With one Part of it in the Siege of *Ingolſtadt* was carried on. With the other the Duke gave Battle to the united Strength of *France* and *Bavaria*. On the ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, 1704, he gained a more glorious Victory than the Hiſtories of any Age can boaſt. The Heaps of Slain were dreadful Proofs of his Valour. A Marſhal of *France*, whole Legions of *French*, his Priſoners, proclaimed his Mercy. *Bavaria* was ſubdued. *Ratiſbon*, *Augſburg*, *Ulm*, *Memingben*, all the Uſurpations of the Enemy, were recovered. The Liberty of the Dyet, the Peace of the Empire, were reſtored. From the *Danube* the Duke turned his victorious Arms toward the *Rhine* and the *Moſelle*. *Landau*, *Treves*, *Traerbach* were taken. In the Courſe of one Campaign the very Nature of the War was changed. The Invaders of other States were reduced to defend their own. The Frontier of *France* was expoſed in its weakeſt to the Efforts of the Allies.

That he might improve his Advantage, that he might puſh the Sum of Things to a ſpeedy Deciſion, the Duke of *Marlborough* led his Troops early in the following Year once more to the *Moſelle*. They, whom he had ſaved a few Months before, neglected to ſecond him now. They, who might

have

have been his Companions in Conqueſt, refuſed to join him. When he ſaw the generous Deſigns he had formed fruſtrated by private Intereſt, by Pique, by Jealouſy, he returned with Speed to the *Maes*. He returned; and Fortune and Victory returned with him. *Liege* was relieved; *Huy* retaken the *French*, who had preſſed the Army of the States-General with ſuperior Numbers, retired behind Entrenchments which they deemed impregnable. The Duke forced theſe Entrenchments, with inconſiderable Loſs, on the 7th of *July*, 1705. He defeated a great Part of the Army, which defended them. The reſt eſcaped by a precipitate Retreat. If Advantages proportionable to this Succeſs were not immediately obtained, let the Failure be aſcrib'd to that Misfortune, which attends moſt Confederacies, a Diviſion of Opinions, where one alone ſhould judge; a Diviſion of Powers, where one alone ſhould command. The Diſappointment itſelf did Honour to the Duke. It became the Wonder of Mankind how he could do ſo much under thoſe Reſtraints, which had hindered him from doing more.

Powers more abſolute were given him afterwards. The Increaſe of his Powers multiplied his Victories. At the Opening of the next Campaign, when all his Army was not yet aſſembled, when it was hardly known that he had taken the Field, the Noiſe of his Triumphs was heard over *Europe*. On the 12th of *May*, 1706 he attacked the *French* at *Ramillies*. In the Space of two Hours, the whole Army was put to flight. The Vigour and Conduct, with which he improved this ſucceſs, were equal to thoſe with which he gained it. *Louvain*, *Bruſſels*, *Malines*, *Liere*, *Ghent*, *Oudenarde*, *Antwerp*; *Damme*, *Bruges*, *Courtray* ſurrender'd. *Oſtend*, *Menin*, *Dendermonde*, *Aeth* were taken. *Brabant* and *Flanders* were recovered. Places, which had reſiſted the greateſt Generals for Months, for Years: Providences diſputed for Ages, were the Conqueſts of a Summer. Nor was the Duke content to triumph alone. Solicitous for the general Intereſt, his Care extended to the remoteſt Scenes of the War. He choſe to leſſen his own Army, that he might enable the Leaders of other Armies to conquer. To this it muſt be aſcribed that *Turin* was relieved, the Duke of *Savoy* re-inſtated, the *French* driven with Confuſion out of *Italy*.

Theſe Victories gave the Confederates an Opportunity of carrying the War, on every Side, into the Dominions of *France*.

But ſhe continued to enjoy a kind of peaceful neutrality in *Germany*. From *Italy* ſhe was once alarmed, and had no more to fear the entire reduction of this Power whoſe Ambition had cauſed whoſe Strength ſupported the War, ſeemed reſerved for him alone, who had ſo triumphantly begun the glorious Work.

The Barrier of *France*, on the Side of the *Low Countries*, had been forming for more than half a Century. What Art, Power, Expence could do, had been done to render it impenetrable. Yet here ſhe was moſt expoſed; for here the Duke of *Marlborough* threatned to attack her.

To cover what they had gained by Surpriſe, or had been yielded to them by Treachery, the *French* marched to the Banks of the *Schelde*. At their Head were the Princes of the Blood, and their moſt fortunate General, the Duke of *Vendome*. Thus commanded, thus poſted, they hoped to check the Victor in his Courſe. Vain were their Hopes. The Duke of *Marlborough* paſſed the River in their Sight. He defeated their whole Army. The Approach of Night concealed, the Proximity of *Ghent* favoured their Flight. They neglected nothing to repair their Loſs; to defend their Frontier. New Generals, new Armies appear'd in the *Netherlands*. All contributed to enhance the Glory, none were able to retard the Progreſs of the Confederate Arms.

Liſle, the Bulwark of this Barrier, was beſieged. A numerous Garriſon and a Marſhal of *France* defended the Place. Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* commanded, the Duke of *Marlborough* covered and ſuſtained the Siege. The Rivers were ſeized, and the Communication with *Holland* interrupted. The Duke opened new Communications with great Labour and much greater Art. Through Countries, over-run by the Enemy, the neceſſary Convoys arrived in Safety. One alone was attacked. The Troops, which attack'd it were beat. The Defence of *Liſle* was animated by Aſſurances of Relief.

The *French* aſſembled all their Force. They marched towards the Town. The Duke of *Marlborough* offered them Battle, without ſuſpending the Siege. They abandoned the Enterpriſe. They came to ſave the Town. They were Spectators of its Fall.

From this Conqueſt the Duke haſted to others. The Poſts taken by the Enemy on the *Scheld* were ſurpriſed. That River was paſſed the ſecond time; and, notwithſtanding the great Preparations made to prevent it, without Oppoſition.

Bruſſels,

Bruſſels, beſieged by the Elector of *Bavaria*, was relieved. *Ghent* ſurrender'd to the Duke in the middle of a Winter remarkably ſevere. An Army, little inferior to his own. marched out of the Place.

As ſoon as the Seaſon of the Year permitted him to open another Campaign, the Duke beſieged and took *Tournay*. He inveſted *Mons*. Near this City the *French* Army, covered by thick Woods defended by treble Intrenchments, waited to moleſt, nor preſumed to offer Battle. Even this was not attempted by them with Impunity. On the laſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1709, the Duke attack'd them in their Camp. All was employed, nothing availed againſt the Reſolution of ſuch a General; againſt the Fury of ſuch Troops. The Battle was bloody. The Event deciſive. The Woods were pierced. The Fortifications trampled down. The Enemy fled. The Town was taken. *Doway*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, *Bouchain* underwent the ſume Fate in two ſuccceding Years. Then vigorous Reſiſtance could not ſave them. The Army of *France* durſt not attempt to relieve them. It ſeemed preſerved to defend the Capital of the Monarchy.

The Proſpect of this extreme Diſtreſs was neither diſtant nor dubious. The *French* acknowledged their Conqueror, and ſued for Peace.

Theſe are the Actions of the Duke of *Marlborough*,
Perform'd in the Compaſs of few Years,
Sufficient to adorn the Annals of Ages.
The Admirarion of other Nations
Will be conveyed to lateſt Poſterity,
In the Hiſtories even of the Enemies of *Britain*,
The Senſe which the *Britiſh* Nation had
Of his tranſcendent Merit
Was expreſſed
In the moſt ſolemn, moſt effectual, moſt durable Manner,
The Acts of Parliament, inſcribed on this Pillar,
Shall ſtand,
As long as the *Britiſh* Name and Language laſt,
Illuſtrious Monuments
Of *Marlborough*'s Glory,
And
Of *Britain*'s Gratitude.

THE

THE INDEX.

A

AETH, Siege, of, 161.
Anne, Queen, her Speech on the Pretender's Landing in *Scotland*, 195
Antwerp ſubmits to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 146
Aire inveſted, 317. Capitulates, 320. Delivered up, 321
Arco, Count *d'*, loſes the Battle of *Schellenberg*, 77
Athlone, Earl of his Retreat to *Nimeguen*, 36. Made a Field-Marſhal, 47
Augſburg taken into *Marlborough*'s, Protection, 88
Auguſtus, King, at the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Camp, 223
Auverquerque, M. *d'*, his Letter to the States, 119

B

Bavaria, Elector of, ſurpriſes *Ulm*, 50. Conſequences of his Revolt, 70 His Country ravaged, 80. Retreats after the Battle of *Blenheim*, 88. His Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough* concerning Peace, 166. Quits the Siege of *Bruſſels*, 250.
——— Electreſs of, Treaty with the, 100
——— Electoral Prince of, dies, 27
Bavarians entrenched at *Schellenberg*, 76. Beaten, 78
Bethune inveſted, 315. Taken 316
Bing, Sir *George*, his Account of the *French* Expedition againſt *Scotland*, 196
Blaregnies, or *Malplaquet*, Battle of 285, &c.

INDEX.

Blenheim, Battle of, 85. Monument of, 91
Bonne inveſted, 24. Capitulates, 57
Bouchain inveſted, 332. Garriſon ſurrender Priſoners of War, 333. Complain of Breach of Articles, 335
Boufflers, Marſhal, endeavours to ſurpriſe Count *Tilly*, 33; and the Earl of *Athlone*, 35; and the Confederate Army, 58; but dares not attack it, 59
Bruges ſubmits to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 147; to the Enemy, 205. To the Duke again, 251
Bruſſels ſubmits to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 144. Relieved by his Grace, 250. Account of the Siege, 251

C

Cadogan, General, begins the Battle of *Oudenarde*, 213. Campaigns in Parts where *Marlborough* did not command, 49, *&c.* 69, *&c.* 106, *&c.* 130, *&c.* 170, *&c.* 259, *&c.* 298, *&c.* 324
Chamillard, M. *de*, frightened before *Liſle*, 230
Charles, Archduke, declared King of *Spain*, 66. Arrives in *England*, ib. Addreſſed by the *Spaniſh* Merchants, 67. Goes on board the Fleet for *Spain*, 68
Churchill, Sir *Winſton*, 1, 2. *John*; ſee MARLBOROUGH
——— Mrs. *Arabella*, ſaid to be the Cauſe of her Brother's Riſe, 3
Coehorn, General, raiſes the *French* Lines, 38, 60
Convoy from *Oſtend*, Meaſures taken to ſecure it, 233; of the Allies ſurpriſed, 318. Another attacked, 327
Cork, Siege of, 14
Cowper, Chancellor, his Speeches to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 168, 257, 295

D

Dendermonde, Siege of, 160
Deputies Dutch, their Letter upon oppoſing the Duke of *Marlborough*, 120. Speeches on the Propoſitions of Peace, 167
Dieſt ſurpriſed, 125
Donawert taken, 79
Doway, Siege of, 307, *&c.* Surrenders, 311. Speech of the Chancellor of the Univerſity to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 313
Dyle, Paſſage of, attempted, 118. Performed, 142

INDEX.

E

Eckeren, Battle of, 61, 62
Eugene, Prince, meets the Duke of *Marlborough* 74. His Army in Danger, 82. *Marlborough* joins him, 84. Goes with the Duke of *Marlborough* to *Hanover*, 202. Present at the Negotiations in *Holland*, 261, &c. His Speech at the *Hague*, 292. His Quarters attacked, 316

F

Flanders, States of, acknowledge King *Charles* III, 148
French, retire before the Duke of *Marlborough*, 41. Progress in *Germany* in 1703, 70, 72. Desire Peace, 107, 203. Success on the *Rhine*, 112. Make Overtures of Peace, 166. Avoid an Engagement, 181, &c. Their Expedition against *Scotland*, 193, &c. Retire in the Night, 204. Accounts of their own Loss at the Battle of *Oudenarde*, 216. Retreat, 218. Invade *Dutch Flanders*, 222. Drown the Country about *Ostend*, which proves of Advantage to the Allies, 241. Repulsed in attacking Pr. *Eugene*'s Quarters, 316. Worsted in two Skirmishes, 319. Detachments defeated, 328
Friedlingen, Battle of, 50

G

Gertruydemberg, Conferences at, 323
Ghent submits to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 144. Surprised by the *French*, 205. Siege of, resolved on, 251. Account of it, 252. The Garrison capitulates, 253
Gravenbroeck-Castle taken, 41
Grovenstein, M. routs a Party of the *French* 39

H

Hanover, Prince of, his Bravery, 213
Hesse, Prince of, detached towards *Mons*, 281. In danger of being attacked, 282. His Interview with Marshal *Villars*, 320
Homburg taken, 97
Hulst, a fruitless Attempt on it, 43
Hungarians, their Case, 123
Huy invested and taken, 64. A second Time, 113

James

INDEX

James II, King, dies, 31.
Inscription on the Pillar at *Blenheim* in *Germany*, 91. In *Blenheim-Park* in *England*, containing a Summary of the Duke's Actions, 322
Italy, State of the War there, 131

K

Keyserswaert besieged, 32. Taken, 35
Kingsale, Siege of, 15

L

Landau besieged and taken, 49. Again, 95, 101
Leffinghen besieged, 243. Taken, 245
Leopold, Emperor, his Letters to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 83, 89 Dies, 108.
Lewis XIV. brings over the *Spanish* Ministry in Favour of his Grandson, 28. Dissembles on the King of *Spain*'s Death, 30. Orders *Te Deum* when his Troops are worsted, 62. Letter upon the Expedition to *Scotland*, 198. Refuses to sign the *Hague* Preliminaries, 270
Lewis, Prince of *Baden*, meets *Marlborough*, 74
Liege taken, 45. Siege of, raised, 112
Lierre surrenders, 144
Lillo, Governor of, 38
Limburg invested and taken, 65
Lines of the *French* passed, 114, 331
Lisle, Siege of 223, &c. An Attempt to throw Ammunition into it, 232

M

Malplaquet, or *Blaregnies*, Battle of, 285, &c.
Maratime Powers acknowledge the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain*, 31
MARLBOROUGH, Duke of, his Descent and Birth, 1. Brothers and Sisters, 2, 3. Education, 4. Made Page of Honour to the Duke of *York*, ib. Obtain a Pair of Colours, ib. Goes a Captain in the Service of *France*, 5. The Advantages he has in the Service, ib. An Instance of his Bravery, 6. Present at the Siege of *Maestricht*, ib. Commended by the *French* King, 7. Further promoted, ib. Has a Regiment given him, ib. Accompanies the Duke of *York* in his several Retreats, 8 Marries, ib. In danger

danger of being caſt away, ib. Created a Peer, ib. His Moderation, 9. Sent againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, ib. Sent for to the Queen's Labour, but does not go, 10. His Letter to King *James*, ib. His Vindication, 11. He joins the Prince of *Orange*, 12. Is made Lieutenant-General, ib. Created an Earl, 13. His Services at *Walcourt*, ib. Reduces *Cork* and *Kinſale*, ib. — 16. In *Ireland* and *Flanders*. 17. Falls into Diſgrace, 18. Sent to the *Tower*, 19. Made Governor to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, 20. Made Plenipotentiary to the States, and Commander of the *Engliſh* Forces abroad, 21. His Harangue to the States, ib. Made General of the Confederate Army, 24. Returns to *England*, ib. Marches towards the *French*, 40. Takes *Venlo*, 42 *Stevenſwaert*, 44. *Ruremonde*, ib. And *Liege*, 45. Inſtance of his good Conduct, ib, Taken Priſoner, 47. but diſcharged, 48. Complimented by the States-Deputies, 52. And by the *Engliſh* Parliament, 53. Anſwer to the Governor of *Bonne*, 55. Takes the Town, 57. Strives in vain to bring the *French* to a Battle, 60. View the Enemies Lines, 63. Takes *Huy*, 64. and *Limburg*, 65. Viſits King *Charles* III, 66. Sent for by the States, 68. Marches to relieve the Empire, 73. Has a Conference with the Princes *Lewis* and *Eugene*, 74. Advances to attack the *Bavarians*, 76. Wins the Battle of *Schellenberg*, 77. Takes *Donawert*, 79. Receives a Letter from the Emperor, 81. Joins Prince *Eugene*, 84. Marches to attack the *French*, ib. Wins the Battle of *Blenheim*, 85, *&c.* Behaviour before, in, and after the Action, 87. Takes *Augsburg* into Protection, 88. Receives a Letter from the States, 90. Another from the Emperor as Prince of *Mindelheim*, ib. Marches towards the *Rhine*, 94. Leaves Prince *Eugene* to cover the Siege of *Landau*, 96. Takes Poſſeſſion of *Homburg*, 97, and *Triers*, ib. Orders the Siege of *Traerbach*, ib. Concerts the Operations in *Italy*, 98. His Negotiations at *Berlin*, 99. Reception at *Amſterdam*, 102. Arrives in *England*, 103. Lord-Keeper *Wright*'s Speech to him, 104. Manor of *Woodſtock* ſettled on him, 105. Takes the Field again, 108. Offers Battle to Marſhal *Villars*, who declines it, 109. His Deſign on *Saar-Lewis* fruſtrated

ted, 110. Obliged to decamp, 111. Raiſes the Siege of *Liege*, 112. Retakes *Huy*, 113. Reſolves to attack the *French* Lines, ib. Divides the Enemies by a Feint, and paſſes their Lines, 114. Complimented by the States, 116. In danger, ib. Complimented by the Emperor *Joſeph*, ib. Attempts the Paſſage of the *Dyle*, ib. His Letter to the States, complaining of their Deputies, 218, Reflections on that Affair, 121. Takes *Sout-Leuve*, 122. Goes to the *Hague*, 123; to *Vienna*, 124; his Reception there, 125; at the Court of *Pruſſia*, 127; at *Hanover*, ib. Arrives in *England*, 128. Goes to *Holland*, and confers with the States Deputies, 135. Marches againſt the Enemy, 136. Wins the Battle of *Ramillies*, 137. Letter to the States after the Battle, 141. Paſſes the *Dyle*, 142. Goes to *Bruſſels*, 145. His two Letters to the States upon the Reduction of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, 145, 246. Goes to the *Hague* and *Antwerp*, 149. By his Miniſter takes Poſſeſſion of *Mindelheim*, 151. Beſieges *Menin*, 155. Takes it, 156 Beſieges and takes *Dendermonde*, 160. And *Aeth*, 161. His Reception at *Bruſſels*, 162. At the *Hague*, 163. His Anſwer to the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Letter, 166. For continuing the War, 168. Receives the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament, ib. HisHonours perpetuated, 168, *&c.* Arrives in *Holland*, 174. Sets out for *Saxony*, and has an Audience of the King of *Sweden*, 169. waits on King *Auguſtus*, 170. Arrives at *Berlin*, ib. Speech to the King of *Sweden*, 177. Deſign to attack the Enemy fruſtrated, 181, 182, *&c.* Finds it in vain to harraſs his Troops, 185. Arrives at the *Hague*, 186. Goes to *Germany*, 187. To *England*, ib. Goes with Prince *Eugene* to *Hanover*, ib. His Proclamation to reclaim Deſerters, 209. Wins the Battle of *Oudenarde*, 212, *&c.* Draws up and expects an Engagement, which the *French* avoid, 225. Covers the Siege of *Liſle*, ib. *&c.* Entrenches, 226. Alarmed again by the *French*, 229. Marches to preſerve *Bruſſels*, 247. Paſſes the *Scheld*, 248. Beſieges *Ghent*, 252. Enters it, 254. Goes to the *Hague*, 253. Stays in the *Netherlands*, and receives the Thanks of the *Engliſh* Commons, 256. Thanked in the Houſe of Lords, 257. Preſent at the Negotiations in *Holland*, 264, 266,

266, &c. Sets out for the Army, 272. Beſieges *Tournay*, 273. Takes the Town, 277. And the Citadel, 381. Marches to ſupport the Prince of *Heſſe*, 282. Views the Enemy, 223. Wins the Battle of *Malplaquet*, 285, &c. Beſieges *Mons*, 288. Takes it, 290. His Speech at the *Hague*, 283. Receives the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament, 294, 295. Takes the Field, 305. Paſſes the Enemies Lines, ib. The *Scarpe*, 306. Inveſts *Douay*, 307. Takes it, 311. Chancellor of *Douay*'s Speech to him, 313. Takes *Bethune*, 315, 316. *St. Venant*, 318. And *Aire*, 320. He is ill treated at home, 322. Yet outwardly careſſed, 323. Credit ſinks on his Account, ib. His Commiſſion renewed, ib. Goes to *Holland*, and joins the Army, 326. His Motions, 327. Views the Enemies Lines, 329. Paſſes the *Senſet*, 330. And the *Sheld*, 331. Inveſts *Bouchain*, 332. Takes it, 333. Encomium on his laſt Campaign, 334. Accuſed in Parliament, 336. Removed from all his Employments, 337. Defence of himſelf, 338. Goes abroad, 339. His Reception, 340. Viſits ſeveral Places, 341. His Return, ib. Retirement and Death, ib. Summary of his Actions, 342. His Character. 5, 13, 14, 17, 18, 178, 340, 342. &c.

Marſin, Marſhal, in the Battle of *Blenheim*, 86.

Menin beſieged, 155. Surrenders, 158.

Mindelheim, Principality of, taken Poſſeſſion of for the Duke of *Marlborough*, 151.

Mons, Siege of, 288. Taken, 290

Mortaigne taken, loſt, and retaken, 305

N

Naſſau-Saarbruck Prince of, dies, 47

Naſſau-Woudemberg, with General *Webb* at the Battle of *Wynendale*, 234. Made Governor of *Aire*, 328

O

OPDAM, M. alarms the States, 61. Owns his Fault, 36

Oſtend, Siege of, 147. Capitulates, 154

Oudenarde ſubmits to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 147. Battle of 211, &c.

P

Partition, the two Treaties of, 26, 27

Peace, Negotiations of, 263, &c. 294, &c. 303, &c.

Pettecum,

INDEX

Pettecum, M. goes to *Paris*, 294. Resolution on his Answer, 296
Piedmant, Affairs of, 261
Plassendale taken, 150
Pope brought to Submission, 301
Portocarrero, Cardinal, 28
Portugal, Affairs, of 133, 298
Pretender, proclaimed in *France*, 31. His Expedition against *Scotland*, 191, &c.

R

RAIN taken, 18
Ramillies, Battle of, 137
Rhine, Campaigns on the, 49, 70, 134, 261, 298
Rouillé, President, his Negotiations in *Holland*, 266, &c.
Ruremonde taken, 45

S

SALISH, General, a Letter of his to the States, 121
Sant-vilet taken, 124
Savoy, Duke of, Losses, 133
Scarpe, *Fort*, capitulates, 311. A Design on it frustrated, 324
Schellenberg, Battle of, 77
Scotland, the Pretender's Expedition thither, 191, &c. Folly of it, 204
Seymour, Sir *Edward*, 53
Sout-Lewe, taken, 122
Spaar, General, makes a Diversion in *Flanders*, 117
Spain, *Charles* II. King of dies, 29
——Campaigns in, 106, 134, 260, 299, 324
Stair, Earl of, raises Contributions, 247
States-General, their Letters to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 89, 116, 146 254, 255
Stepney, Mr. takes Possession of *Mindelheim*, 151
Stevenswaert attacked and taken, 44
Stirum, Count, defeated, 72
Success, Reasons why the Allies sometimes wanted it, 188.
Sweden, King of, Duke of *Marlborough* waits on him, 175, &c.

Tallard

INDEX.

Tallard, Count, threatens to bombard *Duſſeldorp*, 34. Marches to the Relief of *Keyſerſwaert*, 35. Taken in the Battle of *Blenheim* 86

Tilly, Count, purſues the *French*, 184. Makes an Excurſion at the Head of a Party, 221

Torcy, M. *de* goes to the *Hague*, 266

Tournay, Siege of, 273, *&c.*

Traerbach beſieged, 97

Triers taken, 97, 102, 105. Demoliſhed and abandoned, 111.

U

Vaudemont, Prince, his Character of the Duke of *Marlborough*, 17

Venant, *St.* inveſted, 317. Taken, 318

Vendome, Marſhal, threatens to releive *Menin*, 157. Loſes the Battle of *Oudenarde*, 207, *&c.* Beſieges *Leſſinghen*, 243. Takes it, 245

Venlo, Siege of, 42

Villars, Marſhal, declines a Battle, 109. His Motions during the Siege of *Tournay*, 270. His Interview with the Prince of *Heſſe*, 310.

Villeroy, Marſhal, commands with *Boufflers*, 58. Loſes the Battle of *Ramillies*, 137

Ulm ſurrendered, 94

Voltaire, M. *de* his Account of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Journey to *Saxony*, and of his Character, 178

W

War, Origin of the laſt with *France*, 26

Warneton taken by the Enemy, 274

Webb, General, wins the Battle of *Wynendale*, 234

William III. King, dies, 20. After having formed an Alliance againſt *France*, 32

Woodſtock, Manor of, ſettled on the Duke of *Marlborough*, 105. The Settlement perpetuated, 169

Wright, Lord-Keeper, his Speech to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 104

Wynendale, Battle of, 234. *&c.*

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